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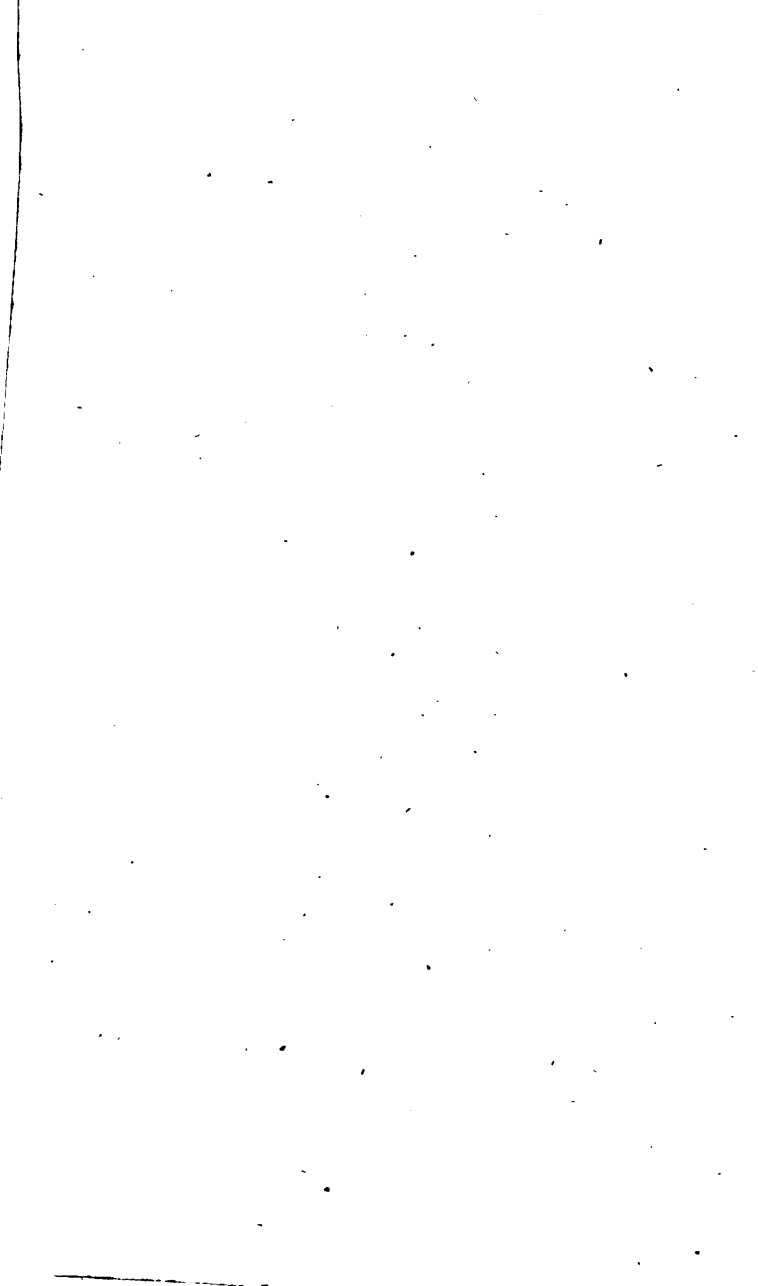
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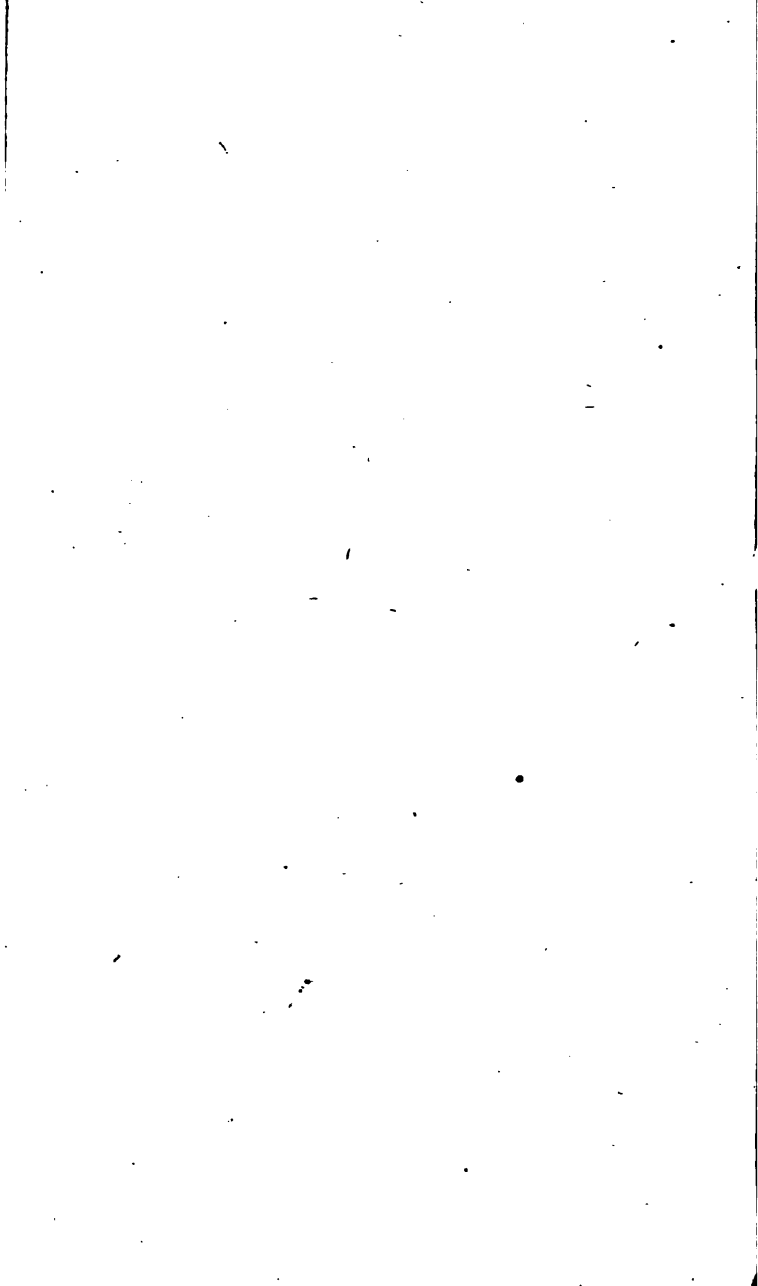
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The DEATH of EPAMINONDAS.

Published 20 June 1740 by T. & P. Kington.

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

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INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES-LETTRES.

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BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

THE HISTORY

OF

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER AND YOUNGER,
TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about sixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight, and the *other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place altogether and by itself; observing only that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

The history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds, at

* After having been expelled for more than ten years, he reascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.

the same time with instruction. When * on the one side we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice, and laws, treading under his feet the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his savage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: † I say, when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, † *That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.*

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he ap-

* *Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alius verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari.* SENECA. de consol. ad Marc. c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed et suppliciiis omnium ætatum crudelitatem insatiabilem explet. Id. de Benef. l. vii. c. 19.

† *Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceraretur.* TACIT. Annal. l. vi. c. 6.

prehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the * laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really † master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and the necessary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means he had the address to employ for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and a right of inheritance.

* *Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui— Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem, (species enim ipsa fortunæ ac licentia par est) nisi quod tyranni in voluptate sæviunt, reges non nisi ex causa et necessitate?*
SENEC. de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

† *Εφη απολαυειν μαλιστα της αρχης οταν ταχιως α βηλειται ποιη. Μιγας εν ο κινδυνο; βηλεισθαι α μη δει, τον α βηλειται ποιειν ευταμειον.* Ad. Princ. indoct. p. 782.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Means made use of by Dionysius the Elder to possess himself of the Tyranny.*

DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprise was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the fight, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere. ^b Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. ^c The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympus, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in their extent and beauty answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures

^a Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

^b In the History of the Carthaginians, Vol. I.

^c Diod. l. xiii. p. 203—206.

as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was seven stadia (about a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exegetus, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits were adorned with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred horsemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry clothes, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * amphoræ.

This great and opulent city was besieged and, at length, taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who from that time had no other thoughts but of his grand designs, and was secretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public assembly, held to consider of the present state of affairs, when nobody

* An amphoræ contained about seven gallons; a hundred consequently consisted of seven hundred gallons, or eleven hogheads, seven gallons.

dared to open their mouths for fear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the public tranquillity, and as such laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens, (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us) deposited the money, and exhorted him, at the same time, to give his opinion upon the state of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason, as a very necessary talent in a republican government; especially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of reconciling them to his measures. He began with describing, in a lively and pathetic manner, the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and merciless enemy; and the consequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who, instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruin of their country's liberty. He represented

ed Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other obscure, despised, and trod under foot, bearing the same yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from amongst the people devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and applying in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those, who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed on the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently seen passing and repassing; and that it was not to be doubted but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence
with

with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: but the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the disposition of the public. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops, at a great expence, from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chosen rather to wander about Sicily, without support or settlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had

had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependence of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the public. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he brought with him to Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom; that whilst Carthage was
making

making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shows, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner destructive to the public affairs; that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them; that for his part, he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops, and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for so salutary a recourse, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required such a leader; that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which consisted of three hundred thousand men; that as for the accusation alleged against the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people (who, when

when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion (without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers pay should be doubled; insinuating that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests consequential of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracusans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracusans would not follow him. He set out however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raised by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected, that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day the people assembled in a body, to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to choose himself

himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers to his interest, and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, which trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law to Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

SECT. II. *Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent Revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful Application and Success in making Preparations for the War. Plato comes to Syracuse. His Intimacy and Friendship with Dion.*

DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with only a hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues* with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The

* Diod. l. xiii. p. 227, 231.

* 400 stadia.

richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having sent a herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians. ^f By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died ^g.

It was then he sacrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppressions of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives by attempting upon his.

^h Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take the advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city, called the Isle, which was before very strong from the nature of

^f Vol. I.

^g A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

^h Diod. p. 238, 241.

its situation, and might be defended by a moderate gar-
rison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at
due distances with high towers, and separated in that
manner from the rest of the city. To these works he
added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and
refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number
of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of contain-
ing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which
he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his
making, and distributed the rest in equal proportions
amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves,
who had been made free amongst the first. He divid-
ed the houses in the same manner, reserving those in
the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most con-
fide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security,
he began to think of subjecting several free states of
Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began
with the siege of Herbeses. The Syracusans in his
army seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their
duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liber-
ty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert
their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him
to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the
spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt.
They sent immediately to *Ætna* for the horse, who had
retired thither at the beginning of the revolution.
Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege and
marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience.
The revolvers followed him close, and having seized
upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication
with the country. They received aid from their allies
both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the ty-
rant's head, promised the freedom of the city to such
of the strangers as should abandon him. A great num-
ber came over to them; whom they treated with the
utmost favour and humanity. They made their ma-
chines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vi-
gorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprised and alarmed the city. After having beat such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance: the face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionysius, in a sally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those who fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to *Ætna* to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction and dismissed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependence

dependance against popular government. They deputed one of the citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power, he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest work, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the esteem of the people would be a consequence of the grandeur and success of his enterprises.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very agreeable to his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the strait, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great design in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependant upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to answer that of an enterprise, to assure the success of it; and he applied to them in a manner which shows the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpose; conscious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of considerable events.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artizans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most excellent persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an entirely

entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artizans. Not only the porches, piazzas, porticoes, places of exercise, and public places, but private houses of any extent, were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their presence and direction promoted and completed the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion, under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it, at a small expence, with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardour and emulation amongst the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea side, and from thence shipped

* *Homo alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria.* Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 4.

to Syracuse, and part from mount Etna, which, at that time, produced abundance of pine and fir trees. In a short space a fleet of two hundred galleys was seen, in a manner, to rise out of the earth; and a hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order; he caused also a hundred and sixty sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two galleys, and a hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionysius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. They consisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, as many helmets and swords, and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities in its dependence supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to list in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprise; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely chang-
ed

ed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, civility, clemency, a disposition to do good; and an insinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his subjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan; and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty, which had cost him so many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer, returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not show themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers, of extraordinary magnificence, and shining on all sides with gold and silver. He married, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinas, the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citizens, and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations from all antiquity that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants of setting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported, that he preferred his own country woman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her; that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without

without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. A happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which at a distance laid the foundations of the Syracusan liberty, that brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons; for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented: but the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was * like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

* Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the same instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to support, without taking offence, the freedom with

* Plut. p. 960.

* Την βαρην εκ ανεγνω της τυραννιδος, εν πολλω χρόνω διευσποιον ησαν και δυσπραγτων. Διομαχης δε σπας επι δι την χρησων αντιλαμβανισθαι λολων.
PLUT. in Moral. p. 779

which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing, one day, the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock*¹ of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praising the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are, Dion took it in a serious sense, and was so bold to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. "You reign," added he, "and have been trusted, for Gelon's sake; but for your sake no man will ever be trusted after you." It was very much that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. *Dionysius declares War against the Carthaginians. Various Success of it. Syracuse reduced to Extremities, and soon after delivered. New Commotions against Dionysius. Defeat of Imilcar, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy Fate of the City of Rhegium.*

DIONYSIUS, seeing his great preparations were complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his designs to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the success of the enterprise, and told them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having so long groaned under the

¹ Γέλω, signifies laughing-stock.

yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing so for some time; since as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimously of the same opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exercised traffic, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and massacres were added, by way of reprisal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they conquered, and to show them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by a herald to Carthage, in which he signified, that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilcar set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius on his side lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It

amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league^m from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they surrendered, except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, ⁿPalermo, Segesta, and Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilcar, however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he reinstated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town

^m Six stadia, or furlongs.

ⁿ Panormus.

was abandoned to the soldiers discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurements and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy and Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance, and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to a hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land army, followed by his fleet, which kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the sea side, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount *Ætna*, which by a new irruption had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming

coming up at Catana. Dionysius, apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilst separate from the land forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus, his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces; at first sunk several of the enemy's ships, but upon being surrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great; more than a hundred galleys being either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle, or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting, that Mago, with the victorious fleet, might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more advisable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

° He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made

a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarce capable of containing them; the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent, in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the city battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining ports by a detachment of a hundred galleys. As he saw no motion on the side of the Syracusans, he retired contented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. Foreseeing that the siege would be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Damarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Pemmyra; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter; for the security of his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Phara-

† 12 stadia.

* The little port and that of Trogilus.

cides the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour; for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their ancient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak and declare boldly for liberty. "We are told," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberty, or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of

our laws: the tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods, robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel, that he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and Barbarians, who insult us with impunity? How long, O Syracusans, shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against the enemy, shall we always tremble like cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independent, would deem us unworthy the Grecian name, if we had any other sentiments. Let us show that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: but if he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and determinate."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: but he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republic had sent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius

nyfius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

It must have been about this time that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very much for not apprizing him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprise or fear, "Have I then appeared so bad a wife to you, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight, and not to have desired to share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew nothing of it, or I should have been much happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in all places, than; in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to her tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the sight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I

Plut. in Diod. p. 966,

have

have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians'. To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns* for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar set out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ships; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: but as those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and

* Tom. I. p. 163.

* 300 talents.

Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and sent a herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shows, says the historian[†], that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those who are too much puffed up with power and success, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered at first triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thousand men, unburied in the enemy's country, returns to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium[‡]. The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal on both sides.

* About this time the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to

[†] Diodorus Siculus.

[‡] Diod. l. xiv. p. 304, 310.

[§] Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

He attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no inconsiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs. Having by this action of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer, with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put a hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and

the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude sallies. In one of them Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about six bushels) was sold for two hundred and fifty livres*. After having consumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource, of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres* he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, whilst a herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having inspired the people of Rhegium with rebellion."—"Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful citizen is so used, for having refused to sacrifice his country to a tyrant."

* Five mink.

* One mink.

Such

Such an object and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECT. IV. *Violent Passion of Dionysius for Poesy. Reflections upon that Taste of the Tyrant. Generous Freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionysius. His bad Qualities.*

AT an interval which the success against Rhegium had left Dionysius the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister. Thesta upon account of her husband's flight, his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens and

^b *Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.*

even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more of equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Phæræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it, I mean in the taste for polite learning, the esteem expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit and the cultivation of science, than feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? Which wise reflection Dionysius the Younger made when at Corinth. Philip of Macedon being at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions: Dionysius smartly reparteed, "The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed them at those hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other diversions."

^a Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have written the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lælius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from

^a Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. lxxxv. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

^d Suet. in Cæs. c. lvi. in August.

lessening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general esteem for them.

These unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power: in a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed in some measure from the overbearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those, who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richlieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatic poems, but piqued himself on his excellency that way; and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the public, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shown too much skill in music at a public entertainment: "Are not you ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?" It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been *ridiculous*, but a *reproach* to them.

* ———— *Nihil est quod credere de se
Non possit, tam laudatur diis aqua potestas.* JUVENAL.

And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government; and having an infinitude of various business always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind ineffectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

* I have already said, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion * readers with sonorous, musical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and numerosity to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion in

* Diocl. l. xiv. p. 318.

* These readers were called *Perseutæ*.

pieces. Lyfias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympic games to difpute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried feveral times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconfiſtent with the honour of Greece, the friend and affertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to ſhare in the celebration of the ſacred games, who had no other thoughts than of ſubjecting all Greece to his power. Dionyſius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the liſts, were all of them either carried out of the courſe by a head-long impetuofity, or daſhed in pieces againſt one another. And to complete the miſfortune, the galley, which carried the perſons Dionyſius had ſent to the games, met with a violent ſtorm, and did not return to Syracuſe without great difficulty; when the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems which had occaſioned ſo many miſcarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ſhip itſelf. This bad ſucceſs did not at all diſcourage Dionyſius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to inſinuate, that ſuch injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always faſtens upon what is moſt excellent; and that ſooner or later the invidious themſelves would be convinced by demonſtration to do juſtice to his merit, and acknowledge his ſuperiority to all other poets.

The extravagance of Dionyſius in that reſpect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himſelf a much better poet, and believed that his verſes were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion ſo favourable to himſelf, had been an ill way of making court to him; ſo that all the learned men and poets, who ate at his table in great numbers, ſeemed to be in an extaſy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Ne-

¹ *Diod. l. xv. p. 331.*

ver, according to them, was there any comparison: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestic, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all that tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praises and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and a huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry: "I was enquiring," said he, "into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the Mines; the common gaol being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account; and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and cheerful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while; the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces, as was very discernable from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was

was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; "Carry me back to the Mines." * The prince took all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best of which the statues of † Hermodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression, if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities, which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

* Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833.

* Τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐτραπείαν τῶν λόγων μαιδεύσας; ὁ Διονύσιος, πνεύματι παρρησίᾳ τε γελῶν τὴν μεμψιν ἀμείλιτος.

† They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

Accordingly some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him his sentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for answer ^a one word, which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion: in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus¹, that having sent his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends with the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Dionysius's daughter.

^b To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He had

^a *Экстра.*

¹ Pag. 832.

^b *Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.*

formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, situate upon the Adriatic Sea, facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes, king of the Molossians, to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding four millions five hundred thousand livres¹. He had occasion for money to support his great expences at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred galleys, as to enclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

^a At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better success.

^a Another victory of a very different kind, though not less at his heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens for

¹ 1500 talents, or about 200,000l. sterling.

^a See the history of the Carthaginians. ^a Diod. p. 384, 385.

the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to argue the poetry of Dionysius not so *mean* and *pitiful*, and that it is very possible, the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. However it was, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city, but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was seized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

* Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the Younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow, Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to discourse him upon his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give

him time to alter his purpose: for Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all in raising himself, as he did, from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding the slenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his subjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the divinity to insult him.

In his return to Syracuse, with a very favourable wind, from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, "See," said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, "how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious."

Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such a habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his

reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard*, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them, according to the custom of the Greeks, **TO THE GOOD GODS**; he would, he said, take the benefit of their **GOODNESS**.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony: saying, it was not taking, but receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold at the public sale: and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, should restore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought necessary to the security of his life, shew to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he conversed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied that he saw

* Cic. Tusc. Quest. L. v. n. 57, 63.

* Apollo's statues had no beards:

all mankind in arms against him. A word which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissars and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his beard with nut-shells. He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring it seems to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small drawbridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. Neither his brother, nor even his son, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their clothes, and being visited by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of disgust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusions, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owed himself upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, pe-

* Plut. de Garrul. p. 508.

* Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55.

* Plut. in Dion. p. 981.

* Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 49. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

tioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend, who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied, with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant, struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable an union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

* He expressed, with equal ingenuity, on another occasion, what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Because you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste, and make proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The sideboards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves, in the most splendid habits, stood around, watching the least signal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately, casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof only by a single horse-hair.

He was immediately seized with a cold sweat, every thing disappeared in an instant, he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he desired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have observed before, thirty-eight years.

C H A P. II.

SECT. I. *Dionysius the Younger succeeds his Father. Dion engages him to invite Plato to his Court. Surprising Alteration occasioned by his Presence. Conspiracy of the Courtiers to prevent the Effects of it.*

DIONYSIUS the Elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the Younger. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. * For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was surprising to see Dionysius the Younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the

* A. M. 3632. Ant. J. C. 372. Diod. l. xv. p. 389.

* Id. l. xvi. p. 410.

elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of those advantages: and at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes of the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

England has seen something of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

* Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as showed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprised and amazed them most was, that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terror at the prospect of the storm, forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately

* Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would furnish and maintain him fifty galleys, of three benches, completely equipped for service.

Dionysius, admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his vessels to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently insinuated themselves, and got the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women, and all manner of shameful pleasures. In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who took upon

* Athen. l. x. p. 435.

him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the debauch with the rest, they called him a man hater, a splenetic, melancholy wretch, who, from the fantastic height of virtue, looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.

And, indeed, it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to argue a haughtiness of nature, very capable not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, and how to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. * Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect: "Consider, I beg you, that you are censured of being deficient in point of good nature and affability; and be entirely assured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to transact. A * haughty carriage keeps people at a distance, and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude." Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

* Plat. Epist. iv.

* Ηδ αυθαδεια συμπαις Ευνοιας. M. Dacier renders these words, *Pride is always the companion of solitude.* I have shown elsewhere, wherein this version is faulty. *Art of teaching the Belles Lettres*, Vol. III. p. 505.

As

As he believed that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to associate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him; for the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The sequel will show that Dionysius the Younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merit and talents by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with the sciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility, by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation, and master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince (not to say a good one) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character before mentioned, or rather to inspire himself with the desire of having such a one found.

* Plut. in Dion. p. 96a. Plac. Epist. vii. p. 327, 328.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that, by such a conduct, he would, from a tyrant become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, inflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage, whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers, of Græcia Major in Italy, joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who, on his part, redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the

the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. What more favourable conjuncture could we expect from the divine providence than that which now offers itself? Are you not afraid that your delays will give the flatterers, who surround the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his resolution? What reproaches would you not make yourself, and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, should it ever be said, that Plato, whose councils to Dionysius might have established a wise and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned to all the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues of a voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

• Plato could not resist solicitations of so much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shown himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but for the services done the state, they had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recal Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier but a great

historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the Elder, on some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. † He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are lost. Cicero praises * him much, and calls him Thucydides the less, *pene pusillus Thucydides*, to signify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

‡ This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots, equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments, attending upon him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the

† Diod. l. xiii. p. 222.

‡ Plat. in Diod. p. 963.

* Hunc (Thucydidem) consecutus est Syracusanus Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyrannii familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia feribenda, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut est mihi videtur, imitatus. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57. Siculus ille creber, acutis, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides. Id. Epist. xiii. ad. Qu. frat. l. ii.

young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies, in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the further advantage of abstracting himself from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almost always unanimous in oppos-

They

They were considerably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and showed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, on which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, "That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant:" Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, "Will you not give over cursing me?" Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as * impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was conti-

* *Tristes et superciliosos aliena vite consores, publicos pedagogos.* Sen. Epist. cxiii.

† *Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nequum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur.* Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 15.

usually besieged by a crowd of flatterers, incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not separately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was very visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to insinuate and enchant Dionysius, with a design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended supreme good not explicable, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. Banishment of Dion. Plato quits the Court soon after, and returns into Greece. Dion admired by all the learned. Plato returns to Syracuse.

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince, and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of
Dion,

Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them; *that when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making the treaty more firm and lasting.* Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take, ^a he amused Dion with the appearance of reconciliation, and led him alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he showed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

^b So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. ^c Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him, in Peloponnesus, his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodgings, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato near to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival.

^a Diod. l. xpi. p. 410, 421. ^b Plat. p. 964. ^c Plat. Ep. vii.

He was for engrossing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a *tyrannic affection*¹. Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. * Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion, and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and sent him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recal Dion the following spring: he did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He ate and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but

¹ Ηρόδοτος τυραννικὸν ἔρωτα.

* In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitia, injuria, inducia, bellum, pax rursus. TERRENT. in Eunuch.

In amore hæc sunt mala bellum, pax rursus. HORAT.

as he never talked of any thing out of common conversation, they had not the least notion, that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

* The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. * He knew however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnifi-

= Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

* *Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.* Tacit. in vita Agric. n. 4.

cence

cence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his own possession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire

* Plat. Epist. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion, p. 964, 966.

of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers to write to him, that he might return with all manner of security; and to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several of his friends on board, to entreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every thing in his power.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wisdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered his access to him at all hours, without being searched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complacency, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst

While they were upon these terms, and believed that nobody penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour, Dionysius was so much surprised and astonished at it (a proof that he was no great philosopher) that he made him a present of a* talent. Aristippus jesting upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretel. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy," said he, "that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging, without the castle, in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was sensible that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person, and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors, with a galley of thirty oars, to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

* A thousand crowns.

•Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. *Dion sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate Success of his Enterprize. Horrid Ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparalleled Goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel Enemies. His Death.*

•WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself of all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, had joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the office of a mediator between them, though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other

•Plut. in Moral. p. 52.

•A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

hand; Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment, the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine; for a person, who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; thinking in a manner entirely peculiar to himself by the greatness of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece; to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprise perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprising, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not
less.

less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition, so much had fear got possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and, in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprise required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprise, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that, in the last despair, was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to reanimate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoken to them, and with an assured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, reassured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

When

* Who could have imagined, says a historian, that a man, with two merchant vessels, should ever dare to attack a prince, who had four * hundred ships of war, a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms, and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels; with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will show, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger, and more indissoluble ties.

* Dion, having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, that there was reason to fear a hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land farther off, doubled the cape of Pachynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them a south wind rising

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 413.

* Plut. in Dion. p. 968, 972. Diod. l. xvi. p. 414. 417.

* It is not easy to comprehend, how the Dionysii were capable of entertaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy in their dependance; but it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this should suffice to the enormous expenses of Dionysius the Elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

suddenly,

suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa; a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whose commander, Synalus, was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have staid there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy, and Dion, having desired Synalus to send his baggage after him, when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his route, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been
joined

joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers, an accursed race of wretches*, THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with staves immediately. Timocrates, not being able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came a hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, a herald proclaimed, that "Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant." And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came before their houses, they

* *Ανδρες ανομιμας & δεισιδαιμονες.*

threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service so grateful, any gift so valuable, as that of liberty? Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon a high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and, in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipulis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Syntalus. These he distributed amongst the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans, with proposals which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it.

So

So warm and unexpected an assault, put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself stoutly into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms was scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and, getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopped the flight of the Syracusans, and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was signal and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wife, and son. It was written with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius put him in mind of the ardour and zeal he had formerly expressed for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him.

him at heart; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys, of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people: for which an open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately, upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion went unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of the proceeding; as the charge committed upon him was an abridgment of his office, and was

* Plut. in Dion. p. 972, c.

* Πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν

generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Those remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him, in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly, himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to save him: if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted, by a treaty, to retire into Italy, for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he possessed, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of those proposals; and being unwilling to accept of them to his terms, Dionysius sent his eldest son Anaxagoras, with a fleet, to offer him a favourable treaty, and to deliver up the treasures of the citadel.

the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed, for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that, as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves, in good time, from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusan's agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the centre of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city, without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat, and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order, without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going

to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were dismayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street, without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

* The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they sent ambassadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved, at last, to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But, at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy, with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding, on a sudden, to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering,

* Plat. p. 975, 981. Diod. p. 422, 423.

was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans, at the same time, hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader of authority to command them or counsel, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that enclosed the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here the citizens, half asleep, had their throats cut; their houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which said, "That it was absolutely necessary to recal Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines. As soon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who, with tears of joy and grief, made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly, from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and "implored the foreign troops to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill treatment they had received; and the rather because that unfortunate people had already paid a severer penalty for it; than the most injured amongst them would desire to impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the assembly was held, continued sad and silent, Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign soldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion for his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are the most imprudent and unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, and the just subjects of complaint, which you have against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods, the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto

hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, when the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and entreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kinds of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and to fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage, who, flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracusans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general-officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journeys.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nysius, well apprized of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that enclosed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did

did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions, burning, with torches, and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets, and those, who to shun the all-murdering sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news, when he was about sixty stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to reanimate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens, who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

• Two or three leagues.

After

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans; who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger, over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and public places were universally covered.

On the other hand, a view of the enemy was no less terrible: for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in a line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fires, exposing themselves to being crushed to pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke, mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length, Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops

troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broken, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill-conduct: that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to show himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other captains generally made the means of conquering their enemies their sole application; that for his part he had passed much time in the academy; in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind: that the sign of having conquered them is not kindness and affability to friends and persons of merit; but treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them: that he did not desire so much as to appear superior to Heraclides in power and ability, as in wisdom
and

justice; for in that, true, and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury, than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides, there is no disposition so obdurate and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kind usage and obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to enclose the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go out and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it that Dion should be elected generalissimo, with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired it might have the authority of the assembly. But the mariners and artizans, who were sorry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he was little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival: but it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Héraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans, having dismissed their sea-forces, who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to surrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle; and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion, after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: "The tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence restores us life and joy, her silence
itself,

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sion sufficiently denote the grief she of a husband, to whom another has contrary to her will, but who alone has her heart. Shall she salute you as her father, or grace you as her husband?" Aristotle in this manner, Dion, with his face tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he then sent them home to his house; being proper to leave the citadel to the disgraced citizens, as an evidence of their

reward having rewarded with a magnanimity all those who had contributed to his advancement to their rank and merit, at the height of his greatness, and the object not only of Sicily, but of all Greece, who esteemed him the greatest captain that ever lived, he continued in his original simplicity; as modest and frugal in his equipage, and table, as if he had lived with Plato, and not with people bred in camps and soldiers, who often breathe noise and magnificence. Accordingly, he wrote to him, "That the eyes of all men were turned to him alone;" little affected with that, his thoughts were always intent on his country, that school of wisdom and virtue, and his successes were not judged from the tumult and noise with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use of them.

He proposed to establish a form of government imitated of the Spartan and Cretan, but the aristocratical was always to prevail, and to be supported by the authority, which, according to the laws, was to be vested in a council of elders. He opposed him in this scheme, still turning the people according to custom, and solely by flattery, caresses, and

One day, when Dion sent for him to answer, that he would not come; and

and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were highly afflicted for his death, but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. A hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of an enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury sweeping his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of a house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Calippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged at his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Calippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to discover the truth by a very strict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went

Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod. p. 432.

to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the *great oath*, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as a horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

After this murder, Callippus was for some time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life: and Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great com-

plaints against the gods, as suffering calmly and without indignation, the vilest of men, to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But Providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of Providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine justice evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetas of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered: but complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery, for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death.

death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

* The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had written to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible; and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another Hipparinus, Dionysius the Younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. ^b It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the Elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the Younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusan liberty by Timoleon.

* Plat. Ep. viii,

^b Diod. l. xvi. p. 426.

SECT. IV. *Character of Dion.*

IT is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure: I confine myself to the statesman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almost to excess: these are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: in return for such great services, they shamefully expel him the city, accompanied with a handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy the most cruel outrages and indignity: to punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers; master of theirs, as well as his own temper, he stops their impetuosity,

tuosity, and without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his humour, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: but notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them: whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by assuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's self with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary to soften, and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness

* Which art, an ancient poet called, *flexanima*; atque omnium regina rerum oratio. Cic. l. 2. de Divin. n. 80.

of manners, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death; and of which they were the principal cause.

SECT. V. *Dionysius the Younger reascends the Throne. Syracuse implores Aid of the Corinthians, who send Timoleon. That General enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Nicetas to prevent him. Dionysius surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.*

CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

Syracuse and all Sicily, being harassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition, Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions.

It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he

* A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. Diod. l. xvi. p. 432—436.

* A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near ^f Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his sacred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

^g A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the ^{*} custom to divide all the prizes they took as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus[†], and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences borne by the public. Timasitheus convoyed them with a good

^f Corfu. ^g Tit. Liv. Decad. i. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

^{*} *Mos erat civitatis, velut publica latrocinio, partem prædam dividere. Post eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper ferre regenti est similis, religionis iussu implevit; adductoque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præfidia etiam novam Delphos profectus, Roman inde sospites restituit. Hospitum cum eo senatus consulto est factum, donaque publicæ data. Tit. Liv.*

[†] Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods.

squadron

squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides: but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius, though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Ictas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Ictas, who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it

¹Diod. l. xvi. p. 459, & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236, & 343.
F 8 free,

free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought of upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother espe-

cially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty, and giving himself up to the cruelest remorse considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and entreaties, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs; and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy: so true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who presume to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature.

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth in the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Ictas, in which he told them, "that it was not necessary for them to make any further levies, or to exhaust themselves in great expences to come to Sicily; and expose themselves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprized of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops, had obliged

obliged him to call in the Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten galleys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Ictas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the *Isle*, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Ictas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the Barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Ictas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. The governor and

magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly, and having rejoined his galleys, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but, as somebody told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had a hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas master
of

of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had suffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Calippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below Mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred and taking only as many prisoners: but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the same time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself upon the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon,

Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter; to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus with four hundred foldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Ictetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley, without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abyss of distress, into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any sentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with

them upon the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, not to discover any thoughts or desire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps says * Cicero, without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same † Dionysius, reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a school-master, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. The Lacedæmonians some time after gave Philip this admonition. That prince, having written to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, but *Dionysius at Carinth*.

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 27.

* Val. Max. l. vi.

• Demet. Phaler. de Elop. 11. l. viii.

• Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

* *Dionysii Corinthi pueros docebat, usque adeo imperio carere non poterat.*

† *Tanta mutatione majores nati, nequis nimis fortuna crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.*

indecent grossness, upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, "Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him?"—"Can you believe then," replied he, "that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?"

SECT. VI. *Timoleon, after several Victories, restores Liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise Laws. He quits his Authority and passes the Rest of his Life in Retirement. His Death. Honours paid to his Memory.*

AFTER the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Icetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed, from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden furious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called Achradina, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed; Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse.

^a A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243—248. Diod. l. xiv. p. 465 and 474.

His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Icetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all Barbarians. That Icetas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already, for some time, sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army, the next day, appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it, in three different quarters, with so much vigour and success, that Icetas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was, at that time, one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts and public edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, and at length ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans, who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans, considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation

dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city, but it wanted people to inhabit it; for some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities in Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself; and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians, to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy, but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all public assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians, having abolished the tyranny of Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them

them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy to transport them into their country at its own expences.

Upon this publication, Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action, the mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble; and every body owned, that never conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them gratis; but sold them the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own; and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor and unable to support either their own necessities, or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale: but first they were cited, and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preserved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same
scrutiny

scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

* History has preserved another sentence, passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of *Thasos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge, perhaps, those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained, that even the inanimate things should be destroyed, which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thasians, conformably to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But, some years after, being afflicted with a great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised, in a manner, from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth; for he thought nothing more great and honour-

* Suidas in Νῆξον Paufan. l. vi. p. 364.

* An island in the Ægean Sea.

able, than to let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.—

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians; for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which were of great service in the support of the war.

* About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports, laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimæsus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians*. Timoleon returned to Syracuse, amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Icetas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death, as ty-

* Plut. in Timol. p. 248, & 255.

* Vol. I.

rants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been sent to Syracuse, and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion, their first deliverer, by that decree. For it was the same Icetas, who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son, an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without envy. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges, and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; which he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied, "That he thanked the gods, who had heard his prayers, and that he at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to them under the tyrants, but which it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of reinstating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city, in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom, in resigning every thing, to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial.

substantial. He shunned the rock on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink under, than to lay down the weight of them*.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of † a noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very sensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That accident, far from lessening him in the consideration and regard of the people, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which crossed the public place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the assembly amidst the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics reconducted him across the theatre, followed by all the citizens, beyond the gates, with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting, that could add to the magnificence of the procession, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were shed, and the bless-

* *Maluit deficere, quam desinere.* QUINTIL.

† *Otium cum dignitate.* CIC.

ings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were the noblest ornaments. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by public decree, but flowed from a native source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable sorrow. A law was also made, that annually for the future, upon the day of his death, the music and gymnastic games should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general.

I do not know, that history has any thing more great and accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. There is, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongst the latter, he places the poems of Homer. There is something of this sort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an easiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services;

vices; his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When * somebody extolled, in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable a ministration: for he was fully persuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of divine providence. What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysiiuses. It is the same city, inhabitants, and people: but how different is it under the different governments we speak of? The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects, to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembered amongst them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the wise legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

* Cum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam se in ea re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare consitisset, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. COR. NEP. in Timol. c. iv.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

THIS Book contains principally the history of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the deaths of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the Treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare War against the City of Olynthus. They seize by Fraud and Violence upon the Citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.*

THE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty; the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and to let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make further additions to

it. They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

^b The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exalted against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

^c At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa.

^d Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten

^b Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

^c A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

^d Diod. l. xv. p. 554, 556.

thousand troops, with liberty to such as desired it, to such money, at the rate of three oboli* a day for each foot soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidea, a city in the alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence, and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

Phæbidas began his march soon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls, near the Gymnasium, or public place of exercise. Ismenius and Leontides, both polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; because he publicly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, occasions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himself master of

* Five-pence.

† A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. Xenoph. p. 556—558. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diocl. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

Thebes,

Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to signalize himself by some extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebans, entirely secured under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, celebrated the feasts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility. Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those, who were for disturbing the public tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of polemarch gave him, of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Ismenius seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were soon after banished by a public decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested; being disregarded as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The

The news of Phæbidas's enterprize, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agefilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phæbidas had committed so strange a breach of public faith. Agefilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly and before all the world, "That the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it was useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but commanded to act upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who, upon other occasions, had maintained, "That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing." It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; "He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than I, unless he be more just?" A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined a hundred

dred thousand drachmas^a; but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this! says Polybius^b; what disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the public authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! But this was not all; commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's country's interest, nor one's own.

ⁱ Teleutias, Agefilas's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phæbidas, to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agefipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing; without any thing decisive. Agefipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years^k. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polibidas, their general, pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

^a About 2020 pounds sterling.

^b Lib. iv. p. 196.

ⁱ Xenoph. l. v. p. 559—565. Diod. l. xv. p. 342, 343.

^k A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380.

SECT. II. *Sparta's Prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the Design of restoring the Liberty of his Country. Conspiracy against the Tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The Citadel is retaken.*

THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendor, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city; and with that of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, founded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed

¹ Xenoph. p. 565. Diød. p. 334.

² Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

his wealth from the first possession of it in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; showing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Aristotle's remark, repeated by Plutarch*, most men make either no use at all of their fortunes, out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress, and the frugality of his table.

* If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friend's ill treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study, and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest, or for diversion. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

* They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palæstra and the chase, the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

* Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii.

* Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μὲν ἢ χρῶνται τῷ πλῆτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρησάμενοι ἀσώτῳ.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship, that always subsisted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures, what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue, which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the public good, and made them desire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such are the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal share.

Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androsides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them from their city, as they were

^p A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. hist. Gr. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586—588, & 592—598. Diod. l. xv. p. 344—346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. i—iv.

declared

declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes Thrasylbulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "That it was unworthy of honest men to content themselves with having saved their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their country, enslaved and miserable: that whatever good-will the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconstancy, and the malignity of orators, that turned them any way at will, might soon alter: that it was necessary to hazard every thing, after the example of Thrasylbulus, and to set before them his intrepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: that as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, so that they might go from Athens to restore Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip, who were then polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans, by his discourse, with a passionate desire to throw off the

the Spartan yoke. ^a He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his country, foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with the better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprize. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they set out dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands, for pitching of nets; that such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprize, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination; much disordered with the prospect of danger, this person retired into his

^a Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

house without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprize, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily, that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, and having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the * Boeotarchs, who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had been free with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without showing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when on a sudden they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him, half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discover-

* The magistrates and generals, who were charged with the government of Thebes, who were called Boeotarchs, that is to say, commanders or governors of Boeotia.

ed, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate as to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For you, my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and show a courage worthy of you and me. You see here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under such masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; or if it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe, that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with

with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conspirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended to interrupt your mirth: however, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediately and make the strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer or to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. The courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs."

Archias

Archias replied laughing, “* Serious affairs to-morrow,” which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under† his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women’s habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment, where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and showing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and, rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the porticoes were taken down, and the armourers’ and cutlers’ shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they got together.

* ΟΥΚΑΝ ΗΣ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ, ΕΦΗ, ΤΑ ΣΚΥΔΑΛΙΑ.

† The Greeks eat lying on beds.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day, at sun-rise, the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with all the sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected *bræotarchs*.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thousand foot and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of *Boeotia*, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: but they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short,
and

and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprises. The three commanders, who had capitulated, were tried. Two of them were punished with death, and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprise and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrasylulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, formed the bold design of attacking a formidable power with a handful of men; and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprise solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrasylulus for that sudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppression they groaned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We shall see, in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire by sea and land, was the work of this single night; in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, *unloosed and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce such an effect.

* Πελοπίδας, ἡ δὲ μεταφορά τοῦ ἀληθοῦς αἰκινῶν, ὅτε καὶ διακοπὴ τῆς διαγωγῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ηγεμονίας, καὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς καὶ ἀφρηκτοῦ εἶναι δοκῶντας.

SECT. III. *Sphodrias the Lacedæmonian forms a Design against the Piræus without Success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.*

THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agefilæus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agefipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bœotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, su-

A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. v. p. 568—572. Plut. in Agefil. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

perfidious, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations still more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him, that one of his merit and reputation ought to form some great enterprise to immortalize his name; he proposed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprise, when the Athenians had no expectation of such an attempt: he added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his sense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprise therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ, with the view of surprising the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium, near Eleusis, and, finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiæ, with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors, with their complaints, to Sparta. Those ambassadors found that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship

ship with the son of Agestilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agestilaus was little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was, besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surprised by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till he himself was a father.

The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him: but, upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra*, which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans, on their side, made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation, between Sicily and Greece, rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnassippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first; but

* Xenoph. l. v. p. 584—585. Plut. in Agest. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 295—296.

Plut. in Syl. p. 454

" Corfu.
soon

soon after, upon his seeming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracusan squadron of ten galleys approached, which he attacked so successfully that not one of them escaped. He demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias, one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being satisfied with appearing to have occasion for counsel, and not apprehending to share the glory of his victories with others.

Agefilans had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Boeotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without considerable loss on his own side. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes which served to instruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported, that the Spartan Antalcides told Agefilans very justly upon this head, when he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded, "My lord Agefilans, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would nor could learn." It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetra*, forbade the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them too good soldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner, without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and embolden themselves.

themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let them loose like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory, by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success, and this wise conduct, was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, somebody ran in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, "We are fallen into the enemy's hands."—"Ah!" replied he, "why should we not rather say, that they are fallen into ours!" At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured, that his foot, which were only three hundred men, and were called the *sacred battalion*, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two thirds. The assault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to save themselves, if they had thought fit; but Pelopidas, disdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surprised. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat, not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy, dispersed and defeated.

This

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst show themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now lost that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those, who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

The enterprize of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here*. But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECT. IV. *New Troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare War against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the Battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the Gates of Sparta.*

WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Plataea* and afterwards Thespiae, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Plataeans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

* Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several cities and republics at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as has been

* A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

† A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. Diod. l. li. p. 361, 362.

* Plataea, a city of Bœotia. Thespiae of Achaia.

• Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. vi. p. 590—593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians pressed the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Plataea and Thespiæ, which they had demolished, and to restore them with their dependances to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans, on their side, insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia; and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, which they would not submit to themselves.

All Greece, being weary of a war, which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other cause but the Spartan ambition and injustice, nor any end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had sent deputies to Lacedæmon; to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an effect. ^b Amongst those deputies Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the public good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the ne-

^b Plut. in Agesil. p. 611.

cessity of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no peace could be solid, and of long duration, but that wherein all parties should find an equal advantage.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never fails of making impression. Agesilaus plainly distinguished, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, "Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Bœotia should be free and independent?" that is to say, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn with great vivacity, "Whether he thought it just and reasonable; that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty?" Upon which Agesilaus, rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, "Whether he would consent that Bœotia should be free?" Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, "Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free?" Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

“In consequence of this treaty, all troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori, to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented that there was no room for deliberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, has made the recall of the troops indispensable. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particu-

* Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593—597. Diod. l. xv. p. 365—371. Plut. in Agesil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

larly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present seemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honest well-meaning dotard, that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians, however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

† The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues, joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him, to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, " † There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country." However, to reassure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed se-

* A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

* Επιστον μιν φλυαρεῖν ἠγασατο ἡδὴ γὰρ ὡς τοῖσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦεν.

† Εἰς πῶτος ἀρις, ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πατρίδος. Iliad. xi. v. 423.

veral persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded *the sacred battalion*. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself; "That," said he, "should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of others should be recommended to them."

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leucira, a small town of Bœotia, between Plataea and Thespiæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. The seventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance,

tance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of *the sacred battalion*, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. *The sacred battalion* was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right, in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which

which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of *the sacred battalion*, to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very rude and obstinate, and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of thirty-eight years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred

hundred Spartans*, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks: whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but such sentiments argue great courage and resolution: but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of † ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families
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* Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedæmonians were settled in the country.

† Mr. Rollin seems to speak here *en François*. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly consistent with true greatness.
of

in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And, lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitives, without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, "That for the present day the laws should be suspended and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority." By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequently useless to the republic.

After the battle of Leuctra, the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the other in improving their victory.

Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta

* Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598. Diod. l. xv. p. 375—378.

† Plut. in Agesil. p. 613, 615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

of soul. None but slaves will deny that the next glory and good fortune to defending their country against its enemies, when its ruin is at stake, is to die in its defence. Slaves have no country. That and themselves are the tyrants.

some joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, soon after their victory, sent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Laoedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter-solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the season, and more, the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprise, in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the twelfth
part

part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause that all the allies, even without order or public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Ischolas, the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these devoting himself, after the example of Leonidas, to the public good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agésilas acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men, in the highest affliction and despair, from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in the most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, *That no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.*

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, "Comrades, it is not there I sent you." At the same time he pointed to different posts, to divide them: to which they went, believing their enterprise had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shows, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some
of

of the Spartans showed him to Agesilaus; who after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, * *Wonderful man!* in admiration of the valour that could undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain, who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and *pulling out*, as Leptinus says, *one of the eyes of Greece*, as a proof of his skill. He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their style, and lengthening their † monosyllables. At his return he again wasted the country:

^a In this expedition the Thebans reinstated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it ‡ very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost

^a Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

^b Pauf. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

* Ω τε μεγαλ πρᾶγματος ἀνθρώπων. The Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies, *O the actor of great deeds!*

† The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important dispatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, *If I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword;* they replied, *If;* to signify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

‡ The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.

giving battle without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

* Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal, He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated, in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and reunited Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. † His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telearnch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * *the office did not only show the man, but the man the office*. He accordingly raised that employment to

* Plut. de sui laude. p. 540.

† Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 815.

* Οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἀνδρῶν διακινεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς.

very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common sewers in good order.

▪ The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetic terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. ▪ Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually made instances for its execution.

▪ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613.

▪ Ibid. l. vii. p. 613—616.

° A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper, the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope, and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears*^p, because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they became insensible to the pleasure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had risen so high.

° Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians, for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persians' fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

° Plut. in Agesil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. vii. pt 619, 620.

° Diod. l. xv. p. 383.

° Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 384.

To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, "This is he who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agésilas, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana.

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem, indeed, of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is *common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make a useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, that had lately

* Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

• Παθὼ βασιλικὴν παθῶν.

cost it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and, at the same time, of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian galleys, which were sailed to infest the coast of Bœotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against Athens; that those who would not come into the league, or march against such as should oppose it, should be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said, loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, "Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally."

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said, on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so-much-boasted * Plantain of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grasshopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office: which shows that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. Hereceived also twenty-four cows, with slaves

* It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship and great value, which people went to see out of curiosity.

to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side, at the king's expence, who gave four talents* for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him; and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents incensed the Athenians most against Timagoras. For Epicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people, to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more was, the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to caress, and comply with, the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time; and who, besides, was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which

* Four thousand crowns.

relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. *Pelopidas marches against Alexander Tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to Reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the Troubles of that Court, and brings Philip to Thebes as a Hostage. He returns into Theffaly, is seized by Treachery, and made a Prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a Victory against the Tyrant, and is killed in the Battle. Extraordinary Honours paid to his Memory. Tragical End of Alexander,*

THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had risen up in Theffaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generalissimo of the Theffalians, by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, universally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the

^{*} A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 579—583; and 598—601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371—373. ^{*} A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369.

tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Theffaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens sent ambaffadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He fet out for Theffaly with an army, made himself master of Lariffa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured, by mild ufage and friendship, to change his difpofition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a juft and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, an insatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at fuch ufage, withdrew fecretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Theffalians in fecurity from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, fet out for Macedonia, where his prefence had been defired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left iffue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural fon, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was fucceeded by *Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy difputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to efpouse the fide on which he fhould fee the moft right.

Pelopidas was no fooner arrived, than he put an end to all difputes, and recalled thofe who had been banifhed by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the nobleft families of Macedonia, for hoftages, he carried them to Thebes; to fhew the Greeks how far the authority of

* Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which cannot agree with Æſchines's account (*de Falſ. Legat.* p. 400) of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Philip. As Æſchines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to ſubſtitute Perdiccas to Alexander.

the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised, in the most solemn manner, to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and, in security of his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus, and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children into the city of *Pharsalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharsalus, where he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant

* A city of Thess'ly.

of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant seeing them alone, and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion*. There is in the commerce of society, says he, certain assurances, and as it were ties; of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats: when, notwithstanding these motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: but to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity.

So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with terror and distrust, who very much suspected, that after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare nobody, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and with all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Theffaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country, and of the public good extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour or personal discontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a show of him to all the world at first, imagining

*Lib. viii. p. 512. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

† Plut. in Pelop. p. 296, 293. Died. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

that such a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Phæræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains for death? "It is," returned the illustrious prisoner, "that thou mayest perish the sooner by being still more detestable to the gods and men."

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebé, his wife, the daughter of Jâlon, who had also been tyrant of Phæræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had the curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission². He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be said to love any body :) but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poinards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a slave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife.

Thebé therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, "Ah, unfortunate Pelopidas," said she, "how I lament your poor wife!"—"No Thebé," replied he, "it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being his prisoner." Those words

² Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

touched Theb  to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred and the desire of revenge grew strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Theffaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks, and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat with success, and preserved the B otians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas*, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

Some days after he marched at the head of the army into Theffaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour as he might have done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension, that the tyrant, if reduced to despair; like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his

* About 225l. sterling.

prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Mèlibœa and Scotusa*, which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep at the misfortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

* Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæ, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden

* Plut. in Pelop. p. 295—298. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

* Cities of Magnesia.

eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was to show all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians sent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who being apprized that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: "So much the better," replied he, "we shall beat the greater number."

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their
foot,

foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the tops of the hills, having outstripped the Theſſalians; and charging rudely ſuch as endeavoured to force thoſe heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremoſt, and repulſed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, ſeeing this, recalled his horſe, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to thoſe who fought upon the hills.

He preſently made way through his infantry, and paſſing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his ſoldiers vigour and courage in ſuch a manner, as made the enemies believe themſelves attacked by freſh troops. They ſupported two or three charges with great reſolution: but finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gained ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the purſuit to ſupport them, they began to give way, and retired ſlowly, ſtill making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, ſeeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great diſorder, he ſtopped for ſome time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As ſoon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary ſoldiers, he could contain himſelf no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his ſole reſentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and deſying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himſelf amongſt his guards. That battalion ſtanding firm for ſome time, Pelopidas broke the firſt ranks, and killed the greateſt part of the guards upon the ſpot. The reſt continuing the fight at a diſtance, pierced his arms and breaſt at length with their javelins. The Theſſalians, alarmed at the danger in which they ſaw him, made all the haſte they could from the tops of the

the hills to his assistance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned; because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself to the danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

^b Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds, "that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of virtue;" to signify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

^c It is in this sense the saying of Timotheus is so just and estimable. When Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: "And for me," said Timotheus, "when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army." Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to

^b Plut. in Pelop. p. 317.

^c Ibid. p. 278.

his valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than he. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow, which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing further is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and a homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army, of seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, was immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magnesians, Phthians, and Achæans, their liberty,

liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their country, and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march, at their orders, against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes; they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebé, his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them, and as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebé, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé shut up her brothers, during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were seized with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Their shame and fear reanimated them; she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sorts of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the

dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

SECT. VII. *Epaminondas is chosen General of the Thebans. His second Attempt against Sparta. His celebrated Victory at Mantinea. His Death and Character.*

THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops; who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes, to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but, happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprize Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design

^a A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642—644. Plut. in Agesil. p. 615. Died. p. 391, 392.

was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agelilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive, but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he, in a manner, snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself. Whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas, for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

* Polyb. l. ix. p. 546.

* Five hundred livres.

Epaminondas,

Epaminondas, having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

The general, considering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that, immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achaïans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over against them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy, in effect, were deceived by that stand, and rec-

knowing no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground, in a readiness to flank the Athenians, as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers, and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear, and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His
troop,

troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and, returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broken off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far, and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing further, as if they stayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broken and obliged to fly. After
having

having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing so little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights, without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Rollard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas

• Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed, was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air; "Do not regard," said he, "this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truly said, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero* seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not famous for its virtues but misfortunes, till it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

† Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem præfegeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic, illo velut mucrone teli ablato, duce Thebanorum, vici quoque-publiæ vires habitæ sunt: ut non tam illum amisisse, quam cum illo omnes interissee videantur. Nam neque hunc ante duceem ullum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus insignes fuerunt: ut manifestum sit, patriæ gloriam et salutem et extinctam cum eo fuisse. JUSTIN, l. vi. c. 8.

"It is for Thebans*, to sing as they do, who know not how to speak." Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit, which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, "My joy," said he, "arises from my sense of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother."

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory, nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a disgrace to them to express

* Plut. in Coriol. p. 245.

* They were great musicians,

for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, until the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernible in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by services and benefactions. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance, and they retained a part of that pre-eminence during the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all the seventy-two, or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire: but for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lysander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece: But that glorious condition was of no long continuance; and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the pre-eminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a pre-eminence of honour, not

of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, and established custom, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another, very judicious reflection from Polybiusⁿ. He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved and in a state of security. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

ⁿ Polyb. l. vii. p. 488.

SECT. VIII. *Death of Evagoras King of Salamin. Nicocles his Son succeeds him. Admirable Character of that Prince.*

THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Platæa and Thespiæ, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father: and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps^p. When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wise œconomy in the administration of his revenue. “^q I am assured,” said he, “that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong, and I have the satisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand.” He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

^r He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune,

^p A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 363.

^q Isocrat. in Nicol. p. 64.

^r Ibid. p. 65, 66.

^s Ibid. p. 67.

to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to him the duties of subjects to their princes; love; respect, obedience, fidelity, and devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject; of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an

• Isocrat. ad Nicoc.

idle

idle and inactive life, should set apart a proper time for business and the public affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Perseus," said he, "in the religion you have received from your fore-fathers, but be assured that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Show, upon all occasions, so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony to yourself; that your people are become both more happy and more wise under your government."

What seems to me the most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these councils, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns.

† Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838.

SECT. IX. *Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the Reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed General of the Athenian Troops. The Enterprise miscarries by the ill Conduct of Pharnabafus the Persian General.*

ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command*. He had accepted that office without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabafus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded, at the same time, Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. Achoris, king of Egypt, died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephthitis was the next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

* A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Died. l. xv. p. 328. & 347.

* Cor. Nep. in Chap. & in Iphic.

* Euseb. in Chron.

* Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was, they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure, except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

* At length, every thing being in readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile, called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort, with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to stand, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

* A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

* Ibid. p. 356, 359.

* Damietta and Rosetta.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to reembark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis, the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panic, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands; and all Egypt been reconquered. But the gross of the army not being arrived, Pharnabazus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing till he had reassembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabazus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprise succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia; having first lost ineffectually the best part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals, who had the command

command of it. Pharnabafus, to excuse himfelf, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its fuccefs; and Iphicrates with much more reafon, laid all the fault upon Pharnabafus. But well affured that the Perfian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illuftrious Athenian, he chofe to retire fecretly to Athens in a fmall veffel which he hired. Pharnabafus caufed him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition againft Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made anfwer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he fhould be punifhed as he deferved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any difquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in queftion about it; and fome time after the Athenians declared him fole admiral of their fleet.

Most of the projects of the Perfian court mifcarried by their flowpels in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their difcretion. They had a plan of conduct in their inftructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been forefeen and provided for, they muft wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely loft. Iphicrates, having obferved that Pharnabafus took his refolutions with all the prefence of mind and penetration that could be defired in an accomplished general, asked him one day, how it happened that he was fo quick in his views, and fo flow in his actions? "It is," replied Pharnabafus, "be- caufe my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my mafter."

^a Died. l. xv. p. 358.

^a Ibid. p. 375.

SECT. X. *The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to the Aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Persians. The King of Sparta's Actions in Egypt. His Death. The greatest part of the Provinces Revolt against Artaxerxes.*

AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having

⁴ Plut. in Agesil. p. 616-618. Diod. l. xv. p. 397-401.

⁵ A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 663. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their repentment. Chabrias went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agefilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agefilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man, of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dressed in a bad robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more advisable to make that country the seat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agefilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself

self with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agefilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis, his * cousin, upon the throne. Agefilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alleged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither, and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agefilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that delusive blind, the most just and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good consist principally in the service of that country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprised so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agefilaus attached himself to that of the two kings, who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of a hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agefilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and

* Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch his cousin.

disciplined.

disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him, in consequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works, which were begun, were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose, but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city could occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's expectation; the besiegers were beaten, and from henceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menalaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta, and of those forty-one he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had

acquired; and Xenophon, in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces, in subjection to Persia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness and sweetness of temper in his character: but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes, prince of Phrygia; Mausolus, king of Caria; Orontes, governor of Mysia; and Autophradates, governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels,

channels, and the remainder did not suffice for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those, who had been the first, and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in refusing it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into * Egypt to negotiate succours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negociation; seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

SECT. XI. *Troubles at the Court of Artaxerxes concerning his Successor. Death of that Prince.*

• **T**HE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pre-

* Plut. in Artax. p. 1024—1027. Diod. l. xv. p. 400. Justin. l. x. c. 1 & 2.

* Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebis.

tended to the succession. He had a hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and sixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * tiara. But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribasus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself: such abominable excesses being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators was already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger, by neglecting a strict enquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the

* This tiara was a turban, or kind of head dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, which they wore assant and before. All others wore them assant, and behind.

throne, in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly, in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribafus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.

SECT. XII. *Causes of the frequent Insurrections and Revolts in the Persian Empire.*

I HAVE taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which portend the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

^a A. M. 2642. Ant. J. C. 361.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury; and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women; and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

III. The great officers of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards, due to the officers who had done the state real service, to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and turning those arms against their prince,

* Pharnabazus, Tiribazus, Datames, &c.

which they had so often made triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus; and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with crusts and sallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night, by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red Sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean Sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their *Satraps* or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced

forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent, of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but, with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendor of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to furnish out expences so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were
reduced

reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean hearts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruined states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorise the rebellion of a people against their prince.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

211.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

SECT. I. *Ochus ascends the Throne of Persia. His Cruelties. Revolt of several Nations.*

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror by the murder of his two brothers. ^a To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes¹. Authors however most frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

^a Polyæn. Strateg. vii.

¹ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

Ochus

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon explained. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. * To remove from the revolted provinces all means of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister, Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; † and having shut up one of his uncles, with a hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: ‡ for Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caused fourscore of his brothers, with their father, to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

§ The cruelties, exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabafus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares, the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabafus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace, to join their enemies with a numerous army, obliged them to recal Chares.

* Justin. l. x. c. 3.

† Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

‡ Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5.

§ A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434.

* Artabafus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men, whom he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops and their commander great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocians. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. † It is certain that, soon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabafus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus, being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, which had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

SECT. II. *War of the Allies against the Athenians.*

SOME few years after the revolt of Asia Minor^a, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their

^a A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

† Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

^a A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

* *Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium. Iphicratis, Chabria, Timothei neque post illorum optum, quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria.* CORN. NEP. in Timot. c. iv.

country; no one after them being distinguished by merit or reputation.

* CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name; when having been sent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files, with one knee upon the ground, covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broken, and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth, "Yes," replied he, "the nobility of my family begins in me; that of yours ends in you." He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

* He is ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several alterations in the soldiers' armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and, for that reason, were too great a burthen; and extremely troublesome: he had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the con-

* Corn. Nep. in Chab. c. i.

* Diod. l. xv. p. 360. Cor Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

* *Iphterates Atheniensis non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur.*
CORN. NEP.

the allies consisted of a hundred sail. After having ravaged several islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they sat down before Samos. The Athenians, on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose, notwithstanding which Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than he, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and full of himself; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred talents † by a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shown upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils

* *Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis adversarius, invidus etiam, potentiae, donum revocat.* CORN. NEP.

† A hundred thousand crowns.

‡ Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

* Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that Aristophan, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence an established reputation inspires, asked him, "Would you have committed a treason of this nature?" "No," replied Aristophan, "I am a man of too much honour for such an action!" "How!" replied Iphicrates, "could Iphicrates do what Aristophan would not do?"

† He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled a number of young persons, armed with poignards, which they took care to show from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; "I had been a fool, indeed," said he, "if, having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself."

Chares, by the recal of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabafus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the king of Persia his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabafus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. This action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic

* Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

† Polyæn. Stratag. l. iii.

for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened, by his ambassadors, to equip three hundred sail of ships, in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse, which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning themselves blindly to the insinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with the present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had successively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be

** De pace, seu socialis.*

inseparable.

inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcilable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

* The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner, after having continued three years.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the Preparations of Artaxerxes for War. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mausolus. Extraordinary Grief of Artemisa, his Wife.*

THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia, by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league

* A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

* A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion: He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him by and by. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republic of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented, that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail (in what manner he proposed a * scheme) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence, in case of being attacked; that, by so doing, all the people of Greece, without further invitation, would be sufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy an immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better," said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together."

* I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, being curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and subsisted their fleets.

(He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) "When we shall see the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expences of the war; as nobody can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to sacrificing a small part of it to their own, and their country's preservation.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the great riches of the king of Persia enabled him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other Barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I dare be assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the same time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other foundation than in the overheated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned sent also their

deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

^d Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in such a manner with the times, or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place, "we * ought indeed always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity to it should consist with the public good and the interest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with us to assist the oppressed." (He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans as examples.) "We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon those, whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them."

^d Demost. Orat. pro Megalop.

* Διὶ σπουδαίον μιν αἰεὶ καὶ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια συμπαρατηρεῖν δεῖ, ὅπως αὐτῶν καὶ συμφερόντα ἴσῃ πάντα.

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determines them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths, in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

* The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was reinstated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. † Artemisa, his wife, succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to observe,

* Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

† Diod. l. xvi. p. 485. A. M. 365. Ant. J. C. 354.

* This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

that she must not be confounded with another Artemisa, who lived above a hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

^a This princess immortalized herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the *Mausoleum*, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of *Mausoleum* to all future great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

^b She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the fame of fine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most sordidly avaricious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the princess.

^c That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drunk it all off; desiring by that means to

^a Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

^b Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 898.

^c Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. iii. a. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. ^a It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive upon this head. ¹ Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes, for that purpose, with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen, being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express, by shouts and clapping of hands, a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the public place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisa came out with her galleys from the little port, through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet without resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisa, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisa, branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius

^a Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.

¹ Vitruv. de Architect. l. ii. c. 8.

adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being seen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning of Artemisa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that, by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation. *— Negotia pro solatiis accipiens.*

The Rhodians, being treated by Artemisa in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and, it might have been thought, was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians; but all this was only the art of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of goodness and compassion for a people who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republic's protection. He sets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the

defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in showing the importance of declaring for a city that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians*.

• The death of Artemisa, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idriæus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne, in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. *Successful Expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.*

• **O**CHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia. That people, oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis, king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore sent Mentor, the Rhodian, to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

• The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had at-

• Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

• Diod. l. xvi. p. 439.

• A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 361.

• Ibid. p. 440, 441.

tended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idræus, king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion, the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable, that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of reascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia choose him, very wisely, to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, which was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamin by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, considerable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were, however, subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful, from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But, before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprise, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjecting it than that of the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by

the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt the persons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and, by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe a universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms to such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in such a manner with regard to Greece.

Its design might be, to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually, by noble emulation, to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats, and even dangers, are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia, who then reigned, had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it

it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him. Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces, Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprises*.

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes, king of Sidon, in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no further occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Si-

* Diod, l. xvi, p. 441—443.

don was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into the rest of Phœnicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king; Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men; under the command of Lachares; the Argives three thousand under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

‘The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phœnicians against Persia; for Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

‘Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be reinstated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned.

• Solon, c. xxxv. Euseb. in Chron. &c. • Diod. l. xvi. p. 448.

Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was seized, and put to death. Surprising difference between Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

* After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian, with equal authority. The first was under Lachares, the Theban, and Rosaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus, the Argive, and Aristazanes, one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor, the Rhodian, and Bagoas, one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had a hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Lybians, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four-and-twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the situation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together.

* *Diod. l. xvi. p. 414. & 416.*

under Clinias, a Greek of the Isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias, with five thousand of his troops, was killed, and the rest entirely broke and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium, were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit to be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it, and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

Nectanebis, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel².

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and

¹ A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

² Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

especially

especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

* Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had written the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to whom he dedicates his work, of which * Syncellus has preserved us the abridgment.

Nectanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agésilas, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined, in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed them, to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

^b Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he had dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of a hundred † talents in

* Syncel. p. 256. Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 14.

^b A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

* George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch, Tarasus, towards the end of the ninth century.

† A hundred thousand crowns,

money,

money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coasts of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabafus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabafus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstated the king's affairs in those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad^c died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT. V. *Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.*

OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease, dur-

^c A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

^d Diocl. l. xvi. p. 490.

ing the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so that the first had all the provinces of the Upper, and the latter all those of the Lower Asia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three years, * Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in † derision of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal, they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the

* A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

† Elian. l. iv. c. 8.

‡ Flut. de Isid. & Osr. p. 569.

places where it was the custom to keep them: but the affront which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and, it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

^a His revenge did not stop there; he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess, with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be said hereafter.

We see here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, who had made the

^a *Ælian*, l. vi. c. 8.

greatest crimes his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the Life of Demosthenes to his Appearance with Honour and Applause in the public Assemblies against Philip of Macedon.*

AS Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander; and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

That orator, born* two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smokey blacksmith, as † Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are a higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. ‡ Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forge, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; the excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth a hundred crowns. It is well known

* A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demost. p. 847—849.

‡ In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

• The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.

† Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,

A carbone et forcipibus, gladioque parente

Incude, et luto Vulcano ad rhetoricam misit. Juv. l. iv. Sat.

that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or a hundred livres¹.

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents². He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them: so that he was not educated with the care, which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doted upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates*, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high³, or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former: but † Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

¹ About 4l. 10s. ² Fourteen hundred crowns. ³ About 22l. 10s.

* *Isocrates — cujus è ludo tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. De Orat. n. 94.*

† *Leſſativiffè Platonem ſtudioſè, audiſſè etiam, Demoſthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et granditate ſermonis. Cic. in Brut. n. 121.*

Illud juſjurandum; per caſos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. ſatis manifeſta docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuiſſe. QUINT. l. xli. c. 10.

• But he soon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly entreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours, which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from henceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and during the continuance of Callistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts:

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so

• Aul. Gel. Hist. c. 13.

• Demost. in Midi. p. 673.

• A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 356.

long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce forever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learned from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides's verses to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronuntiation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. * He ~~hammered~~ to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses

* Cic. l. i. de Orat. m. 260, 261.

* Rhetoric.

in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that at last no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. * He went also to the seaside, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in the house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault, which he had contracted, by an ill habit, of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than *Pronunciation*; insinuating, by making that reply * three times successively, that qualification to be the only one; of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent come-

* Quintil. l. x. c. 3.

* Ibid. l. xi. c. 3.

* *Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus summus saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 223.*

Man then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum: as ten thousand drachmasⁿ, though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were said by those, who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble."

* He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at business before him. * We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero † tells us that success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence; I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he

ⁿ About 240l. sterling.

* Lucian. *Advers. Indoct.* p. 639.

† *Art of studying the Belles Lettres*, Vol. II.

* *Cui non sunt audire Demosthenes vigilie? qui dolere se aiebat si quando officium ante lucana victus esset industria.* Tusc. *Quæst.* l. iv. n. 44.

† *Ne illud quidem intelligunt non modo ita memorie proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus, audiendi causa, ex tota Græcia fierent.* In *Brut.* n. 239.

is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprises, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, should have concluded the first, that it was indispensably necessary to declare war against me." No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it! But he confessed, that to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

* Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I value not," said he, "the Piræus, the galleys and armies of the Athenians: for what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and Bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost against their will: incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men, by the ardour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs, he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we

* Lucian, in Encom. Demost. p. 949, 941.

* Ibid. p. 934—936.
were

were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides."

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, "that neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The sequel will show how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprises of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digression upon the Manner of fitting out Fleets by the Athenians, and the Exemptions, and other marks of Honour granted by that City to such as had rendered it great Services.*

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume where I have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had not the orations of Demosthenes, which speak of them, in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain of the

the history, which the reader may easily turn over if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs*^b signifies no more in itself than *commanders of galleys*. But those cities were also called *Trierarchs*, who were appointed to fit out the galleys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten trierarchs were appointed to equip one vessel.

At length the number of trierarchs was established at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. A hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expences of these armaments; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expences, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust at bottom; as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained, that all citizens from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expence so much above their

^b Τριηραρχοί.

^c Ulpian. in Olynth. ii. p. 33.

power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

^d Demosthenes, always intent upon the public good, to remedy these inconveniencies, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents*, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes, upon this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an instance of no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself, “*Seeing,*” says he, speaking to the Athenians, “*your maritime affairs are in the greatest decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes eat up with taxes, and the republic itself, in consequence of these inconveniencies, never attempting any thing till too late for its service; I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of the highest importance,*

^d Demost. in Orat. de Classib.

^e Demost. pro Ctesip. p. 419.

* Ten thousand crowns.

the republic enabled to make the necessary preparations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation, that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser, having only the fifth part of the voices on his side, was according to custom fined five hundred drachmas*, and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge; who relates this circumstance himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find, from what has been said, that the trierarchs fitted out the galleys and their equipage at their own expence. The state paid the mariners and soldiers, generally at the rate of three *oboli*, or five-pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The trierarchs commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately

* 12l. 6s.

and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act in the function of trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called *the law of exchanges*.

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occasions of the state.

† Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatsoever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see, without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendants: for as maintaining public places of exercise with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and shows; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues, which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kin-

† Demost. ad vers. Lept. p. 645.

dle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

* As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lyfimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him a hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land, in Eubœa, besides a hundred minæ* at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence a day.

* Athens, in these services which were done it, regarded more the good will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed a hundred minæ amongst them; that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent†. These were but small matters on either occasion, with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself, in some measure, for the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

* The same freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported, from the lands of that prince, a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want,

* Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. 558.

† Ibid. p. 757.

‡ Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 545, 546.

* Twenty-two pounds ten shillings.

† A thousand crowns.
subsisting

subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country, in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum; for they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person, however, called Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good, proposed the abrogation, by a new law, of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time, except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that, for the future the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shows its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shown that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons; he goes on to explain its conveniencies, and to set them in a full light.

"It is first," says he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to acknowledge and reward by such immunities; it is, in
some

some measure calling in question the services they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions; injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now alive, and present in this assembly, which of us all would presume to offer them such an affront? Should not the respect we owe their memories make us consider them as always alive and present?

“But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be insensible to our own interest? Besides that, cancelling so ancient a law is to condemn the conduct of our ancestors, what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its engagements. A private person, who fails in these respects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction of public authority, and been, in a manner, consecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth and faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce them ourselves by the revocation of grants, passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to insist.

“To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish, in the hearts of our citizens, all emulation for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their country, which are the great sources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions; do we repent our not resembling them in many things; and is there any wisdom in proposing their defects, and not their virtues, for our imitation?”

Demosthenes

Demosthenes concludes, with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict enquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain, that I have only made a very slight extract, in this place, of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of public gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain, I find, amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans have been retrenched. * Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

* Mezerai.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

SECT. I. *The Birth and Infancy of Philip. Beginning of his Reign. His first Conquests. The Birth of Alexander.*

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Boeotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before; that is, *Anno Mundi 3212, and before Christ 794*. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people. The

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often styles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians.

¹ Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being originally descended from Argos. ¹ The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by surprise at day-break, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live, at different times, under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were dissatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon, the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the fifth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

² Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again,

¹ Herod. l. v. c. 22.

¹ Idem. l. ix. c. 44.

² A. M. 3606, Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341.

he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years^m. Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succour, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. *It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

° Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better than by calling him the father of such a son, as *Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

° Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdikkas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy,

^m A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

• Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400.

° A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

° A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin, l. vii. c. 4.

• *M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud genuit, ex filio est nominandus. De Ofic. l. iii. n. 66.*

Alexander succeeded his father, as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

† The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Pausanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, desired to see him, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and * Philip, and sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; she then spoke thus to him: "Remember Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and adopted you for his son. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and the tenderness which that father had for your person, claims from you the heart of a brother to these children." Iphicrates, moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

† Perdiccas † did not continue long in tranquillity.

A new

† A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. *Æsch. de Fals. Legat. p. 399, 400.*

† Plutarch, in *Pelop. p. 292.*

* Philip was then not less than nine years old.

† Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy disputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of *Æschines,*

A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose: this was Ptolemy, his brother, natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes*, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going a hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: but with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterested-

Æschines, who being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

* *Thebis triennio obses habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, et in domo Epaminondæ summi et philosophi et imperatoris, deposuit.* JUSTIN, l. vii. c. v. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

ness,

ness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. * After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly surprised at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions, the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. † Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: accordingly he provides for, and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Justin, l. vii. c. 5.

† A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. l. xvi. p. 404—413.

army. * He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of all his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was very thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever seen, and might dispute precedence in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamin. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea suggested by * Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by the assemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his * comrades or companions; and by such marks of honour and confidence, induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history: yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflections of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a cautious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to

* *Ælian*. l. xiv. c. 49.

* *Illiad*. N. v. 286.

* *Παράγων* signifies, *verbatim*, a foot soldier, comrade, companion.

make

make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; resolving to attack them after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from *Ægæ* to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power: he afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

* Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eu-

boea. That island, which is separated from Boeotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. * It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates that, in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says * Æschines, in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states, and it was this gave rise to *the war of the allies*, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

† Hitherto Philip, that is, during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his

* Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. iv. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441. † A. M. 3646.

* Οἱ χηρμαῖοι δίκαιοι ὡς τὴν οὐχὶ ἀποκαταστάσειν ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν.

competitors

competitors for the throne; to pacify domestic divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes, having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he resolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents, nor promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them singly in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign had seized upon Amphipolis, because well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians,

thenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. * The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. † However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

* Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promise had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of * Pydna and of † Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.

† From thence he proceeded to seize Crenides which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand ta-

* Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 2.
Diod. p. 412.

† A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

* Ibid.

† Diod. p. 413.

* Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulph anciently called *Sinus Thermaicus*, and now *Golfo di Salonichi*.

† Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues from Olinthus.

cents, that is about a hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling; a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden species to be coined there, which outlived * monarchy. Superiority of finances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

* Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, "gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms." But Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. * It is said that, consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:

Ἀργυρίαις λούχαις μάχην ἔλθ' ὅπως νικᾷς.

"Make coin thy weapons and thou'lt conquer all."

The advice of the priests became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver

* Philip, iii. p. 98.

* Suidas.

- * *Gratus Alexander regi magno fuit ille*
Cherilus, inquitis qui, verbaque et male verba
Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.

HORAT. l. ii. Ep. ad August.

Cherilus the Pelian youth approv'd;
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,
Got him his favours and a fair estate.

CRÆCH'S *Hæc*.

Hic sunt numerati aurci trecenti nummi, qui vacanter Philippi.

PLAUT. in *Pœn*.

could find entrance; * It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths in Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was son of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable † advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune."

* We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to

¹ A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin, l. xii. c. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187. ² Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

* *Callidus emptor Olynthi.*

Juv. Sat. vii. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quam victor.

VAL. MAX. lib. vii. c. 2.

Diffidit hostium

Portas vir Meccedo, et subruit æmulors

Reges muneribus.

HORAT. lib. iii. Od. 16.

When engines, and when arts do fail,

The golden wedge can cleave the wall;

Gold Philip's rival king's o'erthrew,

CREECH'S *Hor.*

† Plutarch supposes, that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidæa, but this city had been taken two years before.

acquaint

acquaint him so early, that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. "I am to inform you," said he, "that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Macedonia." What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflections on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; * for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip † put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A Description of the Macedonian Phalanx.

¹ This ‡ was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, (*sarissa*). This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

¹ Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de In-
struend. Aciebus.

* *Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam suus cuique dignus est)* QUINTIL. l. i. c. 2.

† *An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset?* QUINTIL. ibid.

‡ *Decem et sex milia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa.* TIT. LIV. l. xxxviii. n. 40.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, a hundred feet in rank, and sixteen in file. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep: but its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shows the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up but five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms*. And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each soldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths,

* Five fadja.

and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the fourths four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers, who formed the first rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from the darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question) says he, take up, in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three feet

feet between every soldier. In this manner every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much distance as one of the * phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we have before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

■ This Livy shows evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a *tortoise*; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

■ Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made so strong an impression upon him, as almost made him despair of the victory.

From

■ Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

■ Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

* It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

† Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cunctæ Macedonum, (phalangem ipsi vocant) si possent, vi perumperunt, mittebat — Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emissis, cum strinxissent gladios; neque congregi propius neque præcedere hastas poterunt; et, si quam incidissent aut præfregissent, hastile

From what has been said above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground, of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find a spot of this kind, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs * in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a track of ground, such as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops, drawn up in the form of a phalanx, be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the centre for instance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers, who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as * Mr. Bossuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian † phalanx
formed

hostile fragmento ipso acuto, inter spicula intergrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat.

* Discourse on Universal History.

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

† *Statarius uterque miles, ordines, servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis.*

formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army, divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property, (these are Polybius's words) that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracks, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

† This enabled Paulus * Æmilius to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a

generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partem quacumque opus esset, facili jungenti. TIT. LIV. l. ix. n. 19.

Erant plerumque sylvestria circa incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit (quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum usus est. Id l. xxxi. n. 39.

† Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xlv. n. 41.

* Secunda legio immissa distinxit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarent primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confectæ, et intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa sive implicantur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus inreperit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, et interrupta multisariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur: et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos. Qui si universæ acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent—induisissent se hastis, nec confectam aciem sustinuisissent. TIT. LIV.

dreadful

dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes; Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not, as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means, the phalanx was broken in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

* The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes, in few words, the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or a hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one fathom of six feet for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been said, the reader may judge how much ground an army took up, according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

SECT. II. *The Sacred War. Sequel of the History of Philip. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the Pass of Thermopylae.*

* DISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were sacred to Apollo, which were

* Lib. xii. p. 633.

* A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Dioc. l. xvi. p. 425—433.

thereby profaned. Immediately, the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege, some from a spirit of sincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the *sacred war*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved, by some verses in *Homer, that the sovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at the sentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced against them, at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The *Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions against the Phocæans,

* Iliad. l. ii. v. 510.

* Or Lochri.

publishes all over the country, that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god, who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a serious one. The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success, for some time, seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having, in a rencounter, taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die, as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus, their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himself headlong

headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

‘This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also, by dint of money, brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

‘Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and raised it. *He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. After, of Amphipolis, had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer; “Well, I will take you into my service, when I make war upon starlings:” which answer stung the cross-bowman to the

* A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.
Diod. p. 484.

* A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.
* Suidas in *Kopan*.

quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written. "To Philip's right eye," and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, "If Philip takes the city, he will hang up After;" and accordingly he was as good as his word.

A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. But, nevertheless, this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, "Now, son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour."

After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebé, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers, who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated,

* Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

* Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. iii.

* Diod. p. 422—425.

and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows: and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army, and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athénians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Bœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but, at last, Phayllus, being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader, treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last, the Phocæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the public monies. Upon this Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found that, from the beginning of the war, there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents, that is, about one million five hundred thousand pounds.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general

neral affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves, very seasonably, of this important pass, which Philip did not dare to attempt to force, so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes, upon Philip's attempting Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that Prince. Little Regard is paid to his Oration. Olynthus, upon the Point of being besieged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for Succour. Demosthenes endeavours, by his Orations, to rouse them out of their Lethargy. They send but a very weak Succour, and Philip at length takes Olynthus.*

AS we shall soon see Philip engaged-against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs, it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support fatigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to bear salutary advice; the same discernment

cernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an aversion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ^b. Demosthenes, taking advantage of so favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the least resource or hope left. But, in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians, and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness as even insults the Athenians.

^b Demosth. 1 Philip.

^c See."

progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of Thebes, their rival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who, since the defeat of Xerxes, had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Pôtidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered in concert with, and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures, in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

In

* In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not satiate, a haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse, traffics, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgot her inconstancy; but, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villainy; an usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his

* Olynth. ii.

* The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiads, which relate to this subject. But M. de Tournell, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which ought to be of great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiads. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

subjects

jects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and from the gods are now upon the point of destroying any hand that will administer to their wrath, and cond their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Courreil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. In it is shown the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which were incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the public service; and that at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Damades*, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty galleys and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortresses of Gira, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac generally taken as the third.

* Suidæ in voce Δαμαδός.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: for that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expences requisite for the succour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them, in times of peace*, the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shows, upon condition, however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved, and the restriction also. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution (called by Damedes *a glue by which the Athenians would be caught*) that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction who opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upon pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shows. Apol-

* These games, besides the two oboli which were distributed to each of the persons present, occasioned a great number of other expences.

lorus was even punished, for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was possible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated long feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow, as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and sea-faring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people

Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the public moneys being squandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints; and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to please people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensibly obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of Philip, he hints (but in a distant way) that those funds which were expended in theatric representations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad necessity,

necessity, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful, prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiac (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill served by the venal succours of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners, as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt, he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: "Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name."

* A. M. 656. Ant. J. C. 348. Died: l. xvi. p. 450—452.

* Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

The king was everjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shows and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added casts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECT. IV. *Philip declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocians, and thereby engages in the sacred War. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of Demosthenes, into Security by a pretended Peace and false Promises. He seizes on Thermopyla, subdues the Phocians, and puts an End to the sacred War. He is admitted into the Council of the Amphylions.*

THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocians, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocians. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided

(Diod. l. ix. p. 244. A. M. 3562. Ant. J. C. 351.

all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans; who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god; and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocians. His business therefore was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthen some, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to

Demosth. Orat. de fals. Legatione.

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found the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negotiation. *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then *Demosthenes*, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himself to keep his word; and in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents; *Demosthenes* excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at *Pheræ* in Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of Peace, but refuses to include the *Phocæans* in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were

averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting, like others, the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others served their country *viva voce*, in the public assemblies, Isocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made public, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he wrote a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The scope of this discourse was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confessed, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he should have been far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republics, whilst sustained and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

¹ Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

In case he (Philip) should be so happy to succeed in such a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view but the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these, have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and possessing himself of it. But these very reports; which are so capable of blackening his name, and of sullyng all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicions of proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing the interest of one people against another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice: in fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit these last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions that then broke out. The signal victory
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of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip, against a prince inferior in every respect to him, whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprise, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: that this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation, or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded that it was his business to secure himself first of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by services but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for assuring himself of them by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude, and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's design. Upon his return from his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the

e Athenians, that he had discovered the greatest candour and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of his king. He had engaged that Theſpiæ and Platæa could be repeopled, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Thebans; that in caſe he ſhould proceed ſo far as to ſubject the Phocæans, he would preſerve them, and not do them the leaſt injury; that he would reſtore Thebes the good order which had before been obſerved in that Oropoſ ſhould be given up abſolutely to the Athenians; and, that in lieu of Amphipoliſ, they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Eubœa. It was to no purpoſe that Demotheues remonſtrated to his fellow citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all theſe glorious promiſes, deavoured to poſſeſs himſelf, in an abſolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him, they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all peace into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æſchines, who engaged that Philip would make good his ſeveral promiſes, prevailed over that of Demotheues.

These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. hitherto there had been no poſſibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare ſound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the ſuppoſition that he was marching againſt a herd of ſavage wretches, not againſt common enemies, he ordered all his ſoldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and to fight them to battle as under the conduct of the god himſelf, whoſe honour they revenged. The inſtant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themſelves overcome, accordingly they ſue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire to Peloponneſus, with the eight thouſand men in his retinue. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, croſſed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This

* A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

*Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Il-
ludicium ſacriligii, illam ultorem religionem. Iniquis Deo proximus habetur
nem Deorum majeſtas vindicata ſit. JUSTIN, l. viii. c. 2.*

victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topic of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphyctions, and appoints them, for form sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed sacrilege, shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole sum taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their seat in the council of the Amphyctions, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphyctions, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived,

ed, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. The Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the wall should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified; in order to put themselves into a state of defence, in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphyctions. They, perhaps, had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled such of the Amphyctions only as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular, and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an assembly of the people, which was called, in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve, in any manner, of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it, in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both the new Am-

* Demosth. de fall. legat. p. 95. and 96. With the Phocians.

phyction; and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphyc-tions; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *Oration on the Peace*. We may reasonably believe that this advice was followed.

SECT. V. *Philip, being returned to Macedonia, extends his Conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a League with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives; to invade Peloponnesus in Concert with them. Athens declaring in Favour of the Lacedæmonians, this League is dissolved. He again attempts Eubœa, but Phocion drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian: Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the Oration of Demosthenes, send Succours to those two Cities, under the Command of Phocion, who forces him to raise the Siege of those Places.*

AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the gods, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. Diodorus observes, that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece, by his seizure of Thermopylæ; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyc-tion; and that he had gained the esteem and ap-

* A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 456.

* Ibid. p. 462.

plans, of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the diety; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order, therefore, to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquest there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lysander had destroyed Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Chersonesus; † but it was afterwards restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who, finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving, however, to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance, of it. ‡ After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly be-

* *Diod. l. xvi. p. 434.* † *Vind. A. M. 3669.* ‡ *Ant. J. G. 335.* 1788.
P. 464. In. K. 1788.

longed to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince, in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received pensions from him in Athens served him but too effectually. These veral wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct which, if not prudent, was, at least, excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, and pursue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing, at this juncture, that the public warfaré was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on *Chersonesus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unreasonably. But,

IN this case, a BASE decree, an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprizes. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators," says he, "cry out eternally to you, that we must make choice either of peace or war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating some new enterprize against us. And can we doubt but it was he who broke the peace, unless it is pretended, that we have no reason to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Pireæus? But it will then be too late for us to oppose him; and it is now we must prepare strong barriers against his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O Athenians, that it is you he aims at; that he considers you as his most dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can establish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a state of subjection. And, indeed, can any of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Philip is so greedy of a few paltry towns, (for what other name can we bestow on those he now attacks?) that he submits to fatigues, seasons, and dangers, merely for the sake of gaining them; but that as for the harbours, the arsenals, the galleys, the silver mines, and the immense revenues of the Athenians; that he, I say, considers these with indifference, does not covet them in the least, but will suffer you to remain in quiet possession of them?"

"What conclusion are we to draw from all that has been said? Why, that so far from cashiering the army we have in Thrace, it must be considerably reinforced and strengthened by new levies, in order, that as Phi-

* It was called *Staphilos*.

† In Thrace.

Philip has always one in readiness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may always have one on foot, to defend and preserve them." There is reason to believe that Demosthenes's advice was followed.

The same year that this oration was spoke, Arymbas, king of Molossus or Epirus, died. He was son of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias, was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his eldest brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For after the death of * Arymbas, Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law to Philip, whose daughter, Cleopatra, he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas reascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, (so famous in the Roman history), and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene, being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators, who had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that;

* Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

* Demosth. in Philipp. ii. Liban. in Demosth.

* Justin, book viii. ch. 6. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds his succession.

after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble, in concert, the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited with his views. He proposed to the Amphyctions, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered, at the same time, a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and, by an embassy, pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors, to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broken his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip, indeed, said true, with regard to the written articles and the public stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos, and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

"But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians; according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursues; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excel," says he to them, "both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak in a better manner than he, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past, ought at least to open your eyes; and make you more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him: but this serves to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time, his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the territories round you? Art has invented, for the security of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark? It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy; to send immediate succour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time

Philip.ii.

considered

considered Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the design he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the *Shackles of Greece*. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. * At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians; conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. * That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in this school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always

* Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 22.

* Plutarch in Phoc. p. 745. 746.

Ibid. p. 745. 746.

walked barefoot; and without a cloak; unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, "See, Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter."

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: "I am considering," says he, "whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make." He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every thing against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, say, "There is the ax which cuts away the effects of my words." One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians: lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal. Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Phocion, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diophanes, Demetrius, and Chares, advanced themselves by mili-

* Socrates used often to walk in that manner.

tary

tary employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilst he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five-and-forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his absence. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind; how it was possible for him, in a manner to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprices, without regard to their capriciousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character; because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of the Lacedæmonians at Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to cope upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove the Lacedæmonians from Eretria. After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias his answer,

swer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels; to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what purpose," says he, "is such a squadron? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Euboea. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice

of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the specious pretence of a peace he had sworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterprises he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the *Philippics*.

“Whence comes it,” says he, “that all the Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now run so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because here prevailed at that time among the people, what revails no longer among us, that which triumphed over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconsistently on any occasion either by sea or by land; but which, being now extinguished in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and subverted the constitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that general detestation, in which they held every person who had a soul abject enough to sell himself to any man who dared even to enslave, or even corrupt Greece. In those times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, which never failed of being punished with death. Neither their orators nor their generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now become so common in Athens, where a price is set upon every thing, and where all things are sold to the highest bidder.

“In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a perfect union, founded on the love of the public good, and the desire of preserving and defending the common liberty. But in this age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, without exception, Achaives, Thebans, Corinthians, Laocæmonians, Argians, and ourselves no less than others; all, all, I say, form a separate interest; and this it is that renders the common enemy so powerful.

“The safety of Greece consists therefore in our uniting together against this common enemy, if that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns each of us

Philipp. iii. p. 90. *Ibid. iv. p. 102.* *Ibid. p. 99.*
 “Ibid. p. 102.”

in particular, this incontestible maxim it is absolutely necessary to hold, that Philip attacks you actually at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that by seizing upon all the fortresses around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, because he knows that we only are able to oppose the ambitious designs he entertains of grasping universal power.

“These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must provide instantly whatever necessities your generals may require; in fine, you must concert together on such means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now threatened with the utmost danger. Though all the rest of the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their necks to the yoke, yet you ought to persist in fighting always for the cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in presence of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second us; let us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that man.”

The sequel will show, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens, but too often.

* Philip. iii. p. 88.

† Ibid. p. 94, 95.

‡ Plutarch in Phoc. p. 747.



he success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made; ^b but what could be expected from a man whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the moneys appointed for the service of the fleet; who shorted the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and, on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprised to find another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance, we observed, the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward show) very desirous of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, in way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours

^b Athen. l. xii. p. 530.

^c Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

take off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) with such complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise style so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip what was said of Cæsar, "••••• That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword."

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

"At the time of our most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than to fit out privateers against me; to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that opposed my measures; and to infect the places subject to me by your hostilities; but now you carry hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the Persian, in order to excite him to declare war against me. This must appear a most astonishing circumstance; for before he had made himself master of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had resolved in the most solemn manner, that in case he should attempt any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our forces against him. And, nevertheless at this time you carry your hatred to such a height, as to

••••• *Eodem animo dixit: quo bellavit.* QUÆST. L. X. C. 2.

negociate

negotiate an alliance with him against me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to Pisistratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requested the succour of the Persian against the Greeks; and yet you do not blush to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people, who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how vastly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes, to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then to animate his fellow citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

* The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by these truths, O Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for Philip has just now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct) you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men, who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to such a degree, that merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose law on others sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the people, "That they ought not to be exasperated at the diffidence of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who had occasioned it. For it is these," continued he, "who render you odious, and formidable even to those who cannot save themselves from destruction without your assistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valor or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the

* Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprises.

¹The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies in the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. ^mPhocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

ⁿThe Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here.

¹ A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339.

^m Diod. l. xvi. p. 468.

ⁿ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 487, 488.

" Under Bosphorion the pontiff*, Damagetus, after having desired leave of the senate to speak, said, in a full assembly: inasmuch as in times past the continual benevolence of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; that this benevolence, so often signalized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon (who had taken up arms to destroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burned our country, cut down our forests; that in a season of so great calamity, this beneficent people succoured us with a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, furnished with provisions, arms, and forces; that they saved us from the greatest danger; in fine, that they restored us to the quiet possession of our government, our laws, and our tombs: the Byzantines and Perinthians grant, by decree, the Athenians to settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; they also grant them a distinguished place at public shows, and the right of sitting both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next to the pontiffs: and further, that every Athenian, who shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any kind: that in the harbours, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues shall represent the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus: and besides, that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the Athenians, shall there be proclaimed; so that the same ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: " Among the nations inhabiting the Chersonesus, the people of Sestos, of

* He probably was the chief magistrate.

Ælia, of Madytis, and of Alopeconnesus, decree to the people and senate of Athens, a crown of gold of sixty talents*; and erect two altars, the one to the Goddess of Gratitude, and the other to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: an act of beneficence, which they shall fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their power. All which they have resolved in full senate."

• Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but, in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moesia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

• Justin, l. ix. c. 2, 3.

• Sixty thousand French crowns.

SECT. VI. *Philip, by his Intrigues, gets himself appointed Generalissimo of the Greeks, in the Council of the Amphyctions. He possesses himself of Elataa. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the Conquest of this City, unite against Philip. He makes Overtures of Peace, which, upon the Remonstrances of Demosthenes, are rejected. A Battle is fought at Cheronæa, where Philip gains a signal Victory. Demosthenes is accused and brought to a trial by Æschines. The latter is banished, and goes to Rhodes.*

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniences attending it, but by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could

A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
 Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him; as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him; and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce with his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations he raised divisions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwise called the *Locrians of Amphissa*, from their capital city; their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has seen that like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphycions. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *tylagori*, by which name those were called, who were sent

sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphyctions. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessors; but which they now were accused of usurping, by a most sacrilegious act.

Whilst the Amphyctions were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew resentment and war upon these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there *Æschines* exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, or representatives, either that they must afflict themselves, to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, "ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon; who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphyctions, implore his assistance; beseech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphyctions, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he shall think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment; but immediately assembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and

for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatæa, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus; and the most happily situated for the design he meditated of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

This news, being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, *Who among you will ascend the tribunal?* However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel: for, says Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow citizens were in, ascends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture, and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a counsel, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to show. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprized them of what they are to expect from him.

Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 501—504.

Diod. l. xvi. p. 474—477.

On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elatæa? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side, he would strike unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. Philip," says he, "prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under Eleufis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service; and support these by your cavalry. By this step, you will show all Greece that you are ready armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your partizans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip have

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. *Λιπαραι & Αοιδιμαί, Ελλάδος ισχυρία, κλειναι. Αθηναι.* But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.

forces in Elatæa ready to assist them upon occasion; in like manner those, who are willing to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprises by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus; "For this reason the senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of Greece to the safety of their own country, have resolved, that after offering up prayers and sacrifices, to call down the assistance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica, two hundred sail of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruise on the other side of the pass of Thermopylæ: at the same time that the land-generals, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageously their particular independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly some motives of discontent might have cooled the reciprocal friendship between them and us, the Athenians, however, obliterating the remembrance of past transactions, will now assist them with men, money, darts, and all kind of military weapons; persuaded, that such as are natives of Greece may, very honourably, dispute with one another for pre-eminence; but that they can never, without fully-
ing the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the
virtue.

virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to so ignominious a slavery."

Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and, indeed, he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively, persuasive eloquence, which it was scarcely possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere novices in comparison to him: however he here met with a superior. * And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration, where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

* It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability of war. To effect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the stocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia

* Plat. in Demosth. p. 853, 854.

* Demosth. in Orat. pro Corin. p. 509.

* Ibid.

* This Python was of Byzantium. The Athenians had presented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip. Demosth. p. 198, 745.

would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians, or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes. But the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Pythom he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly: a prince whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprises. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths, being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of en-

* Theopom. apud Phil. in vit. Demosth. p. 854.

thusiasm,

thusiasm, and enflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected, and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered: but Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess *philippized*, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse; that of
his

his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And, indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, universally despised, and Lyficles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronia, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought in quality of a commander, (the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the *sacred battalion* of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their
first

first post. * Lyficles, one of the two generals, having broken into some troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and, in that rash confidence, cried out, "Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, cried out with a calm tone of voice, "The Athenians do not know how to conquer." Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broken, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. * It is even said, that in his flight, his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, cried out, "Spare my life." More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shows, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies, with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung

* Polyæn. Strateg. lib. iv.

* Plut. in vit. decem. Orat. p. 845.

thus,

thus (himself beating time) "Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes has said." Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour; and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, "Ah Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites?" These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: and, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says* a historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them clothes; with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: in which, says Polybius^b, he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

^c We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the

^b Polyb. l. v. p. 359.

^c Plut. in Isocr. p. 887.

* Ταυ τε Αθηνας καθεμικηθεντας τας Αττικας χαρισι. Diod.

battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his style and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. ^d But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fosses, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of

^d Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 514. Plut. in Demosth. p. 855.

those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

* But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronæa, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

“ This earth entombs those victims to the state,
Who sell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.

Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.

This Jupiter decreed: No effort, mortals,

Can save you from the mighty will of fate.

To gods alone belongs the attribute

Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.”

† Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: “ Censure me,” says he, “ for the counsels I give; but do not calumniate me for the ill success of them. For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who

* Plut. in Demosth. p. 655. Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 519, 520.

† Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 505.

offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, since it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength: if with those I did not seek, I did not employ every method which human prudence could suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians; shew me this, and then give what scope you please to your accusations."

* He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus^b. Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platæa: no, he makes a quite different use of them; says this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: "No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Platæa; at sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious." Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how natu-

^a Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 608.

^b Longin. de sublim. c. xiv.
rally

ly apt these orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, a herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans dressed in complete armour, he said with a loud voice: "These young orphans, whom an untimely death in the midst of dangers has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now I send them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the most happy auspices, their own affairs, and induce each of them to emulate each other in deserving the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taste of virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæroneæ, and a few years before the death of Philip, that Æschines brought up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes: but the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was attended with so much pomp. † People flocked to it from all parts (says Cicero) and they had great reason

† Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.

Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptænes, p. 56a, observes, the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoken in honour of such persons, as had lost their lives in the defence of their country.

Ad quod judicium conensus dicitur à tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum, in gravissimâ causa, accurata et inimicitiis incensa, contentio? CICERO. de opt gen.

for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes.

* Cicero had translated the latter, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men, a considerable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid just eloquence; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes,

* De opt. gen. orat.

here, he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; "But what plauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!"

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: for the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and pressed him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cries out: " * How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!"

CT. VII. *Philip, in the Assembly of the Amphictions, is declared General of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that Expedition. Domestic Troubles in his Household. He divorces Olympias, and marries another Lady. He solemnizes the Marriage of Cleopatra his Daughter with Alexander, King of Epirus, and is killed at the Nuptials.*

THE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platæa, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, disabled, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ages, he had subjected by artifice or force, the most

¹ A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes, when, three years after, he met with the same fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but, now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a design, than the destruction of their empire. "The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight, of) was, to get himself appointed in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.

"But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his consort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the now queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this, Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, "Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard?" and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned

" Diod. l. 16. p. 479.

" Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

e compliment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not collecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily, the father fell, so that the rest had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in the bitter words following: "The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe to Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another, without running the hazard of breaking his neck." After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus, of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him, whether the Greeks were in unity? "It indeed becomes you, Sir," replied Demaratus, "to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissensions." The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to return home.

Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. As to the mighty project he revolved, he consults the oracles, to know what would be the event of it. The Pythia replied, "The victim is already crowned, his day draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed." Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought, at least, to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a con-

dition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches, with all possible diligence, his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander, king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus, the poet, had written, purposely for that festival, a tragedy * entitled *Cinyras*, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to show that he considered the

* Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mæster the Pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.

affections which the Grecians bore him, as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately torn to pieces upon this spot. Thus died Philip at

forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, That the night before he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments: for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion, Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass, that in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which shewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. *Memorable Actions and Sayings of Philip. Good and bad Qualities of that Prince.*

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because, in the latter, they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Turreil has

*Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.

collected,

collected, with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connection in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he, however, at some intervals, loved truth. He permitted Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators, for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Philip, remember thou art mortal."

* He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors, who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Demochares, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, however made the following answer with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, that those who dare make use of such insolent language, are more haughty and less peaceably inclined than they who can forgive them."

* Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whispered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of your robe;" upon which Philip replied, "Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that he was one of my friends."

* The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him

* Arist. Epist. Plut. in Apoph. p. 177. * Eliau, lib. 8, c. 15.

* Senec. de Ira, l. 3, c. 23.

* Plut. * Plut:

* Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

publicly in the Olympic games; "What won't they attempt," replied Philip, "should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?"

* His courtiers advising him to drive-from him a certain person who spoke ill of him; "Yes, indeed," says he, "and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where." Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: "Let us first take care," says he, "that we have not given him any reason to do so." Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: "It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated."

† Being urged to assist, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him; "I had rather," says he, "he should lose his reputation than I mine."

‡ Philip rising from an entertainment, at which he had sat several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to allege which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, "I appeal." "How!" says Philip, "from your king? To whom then?" "To Philip when fasting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this answer would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing; found the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.

* A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her that he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion; "If

* Plut. in Apoph.

† Plut.

* Ibid.

* Ibid.

you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king." Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and so far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was sensible, that a king and a judge are the same thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural and unaffected, and very wise expression; " * Be no longer king;" and Philip comprehended all its force.

He understood railery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importing him daily with some new request: "Take what thou wilt," says he, "for thou hast me by the throat."

It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.

Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: "Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting." Philip answered; "Philip to Menecrates, health and reason†." But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was

^b Plut.

^c Ibid.

^d Aelian. l. xii. cap. 51.

^e Κας μὴ βασιλεὺς

† The Greek word *εὐχρηστικὸν* signifies both these things.

a man;

a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep; "I indeed sleep," says he, "but Antipater wakes."

Parmenio, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do not wonder," says he, "if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he waked whilst you slept." By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, "In my whole life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them."

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Turreil is, the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them.

• Plutarch.

• Ibid. 137. • Ibid. in Apoph. p. 177.

He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents: to strike the surer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immovable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendant, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the dearest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities, which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardour, and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. "I saw him," says this orator, "this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and

Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 489.

empire

empire; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body the might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it."

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact, regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprises. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever consistent with discipline: and indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shows danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. They reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay
silently

silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but Theopompus, a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says ^k he, "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what sort of crimes did they not commit, &c."

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: and, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on

Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. p. 408. ^k Theopom. apud Athen. l. 6. p. 206.
every

every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest, and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

¹ Polyænus shows us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Theffaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. "He did not," says he, "carry on an open war against the Theffalians; but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued Theffaly."

¹ Polyæn. l. 4. c. 19.

"All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy, and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, subtle genius; but we don't find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his sense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. He did not blush to say, "That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths."

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity! What idea should we form to ourselves in the commerce of the world, who should value himself for tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among the virtues? Such a character in private life is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and above all the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound," says a celebrated

"Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

"Ælian. l. 7. c. 12.

writer*, "to speak truth to our neighbour; for the use and application of speech implies a tacit promise of truth; speech having been given to us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private man with another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? "Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth," said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings."

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? "If your father-in-law," (Ferdinand the catholic) said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, "has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered."

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit? An Aristides, a Cimon, a

* Mezerai.

† Ibid.

* M. Nicole on the Epist. of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.

Phocion,

Phocion, and so many more; some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, how shining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

END OF VOL. V.



